HISTORY

AND

GENERAL DESCRIPTION

OF

NEW FRANCE

BY

THE REV. P. F. X. DE CHARLEVOIX, S.J.

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MARGUERITE BOURGEOYS

Foundress of the Sisters of the Congregation
at Villemarie (Montreal)
Born Apr. 17, 1620; Died Jan. 12, 1700

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AND

GENERAL DESCRIPTION

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NEW FRANCE

BY

THE REV. P.F.X. DE CHARLEVOIX, S.J.

TRANSLATED, WITH NOTES, BY JOHN GILMARY SHEA

IN SIX VOLUMES

VOLUME V

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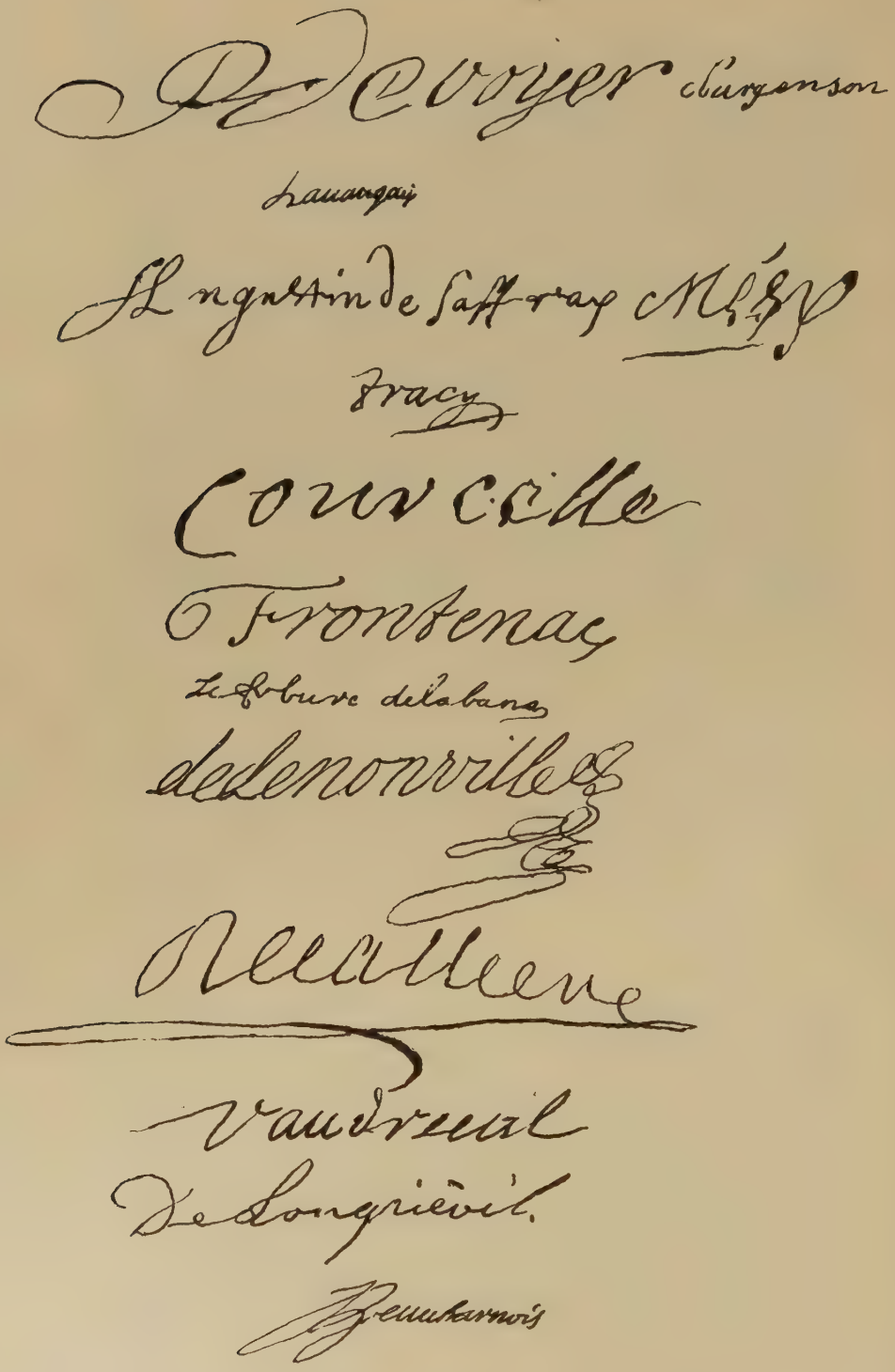

BOOK XVI.

THE Count de Frontenac having expressed his determination to penetrate with all his forces into the very heart of Iroquois country, there were several opinions as to the course to be adopted to ensure the success of so desired an expedition, and from which nothing less was expected than the end of a war which had several times brought the colony to the verge of ruin, which prevented its progress, and by favor of which the English considerably increased their commerce and established themselves powerfully on the continent of North America. 1696.

Various opinions as to the Expedition against the Iroquois.

They did not agree even as to the time to be selected for undertaking it. Many wished to swoop down on the canton of Onondaga with all the forces of the colony during the winter, in order to have all leisure completely to destroy in a single campaign all the other cantons; but the Chevalier de Callieres was not of this opinion. He declared to the General that he could not find men enough to march in snow-shoes, carry and draw ammunition and stores so far, and storm a town in the very heart of the enemy's country, where the Iroquois could easily rally in a short time all their warriors, and so intrench themselves as to keep the French army at bay for a long time.

He added that even should their intrenchments be stormed, they could easily lay ambuscades everywhere

1696. against troops encumbered with baggage, and harass them to the very gates of Montreal; that it was more advisable to await a pleasant season, and that then there would be nothing to prevent his marching all the regulars, militia and domiciliated Indians; that of these a corps could be made capable of facing on every side and carrying on any project; that it would nevertheless be advisableto go in advance over the ice to attack the Mohawks, who were nearer and who, expecting nothing of the kind, would be easily surprised.

Louvigny expedition over the ice.

The General relished this advice all the more from his having had the same idea, and moreover the season was so bad till the month of January, that around Quebec there was no travel on the Saint Lawrence, either on foot or in vehicle, or canoes. He accordingly ordered the Gov ernor of Montreal to send five or six hundred men from his district, and that of Three Rivers, against the Mohawk canton. This party was soon ready, and was on the point of marching, when certain intelligence was received, that the scheme had become known and that the Mohawks were taking measures to be reinforced not only by the other cantons but also by the English of New York.[1]

Mr. de Callieres informed the Count de Frontenac, who directed him to send out only three hundred picked men to fall on the Iroquois hunters, who must be in considerable numbers and totally unsuspecting between the Saint Lawrence and the great river (of the Ottawas,) their usual winter hunting-ground. This detachment actually started toward the end of January under the command of Mr. Louvigny; but was detained thirteen days quite near Montreal by the snow, which fell this year in much greater abundance than usual. He then with incredible hardship continued his march within five leagues from Catarocouy, everywhere meeting soft snow seven or eight feet

[1] In January, Gov. Fletcher, of N. Y., assembled troops at Schenectady. N. Y. Col. Doc., iv. p. 161. A reward of £6 was offered for every Frenchman or Indian killed within three miles of Albany. N. Y. Council Min. vii. p. 189. See Proclamation, May 11, 1696. N. Y. Col. MSS. xl. p. 160. Proclam. Aug. 2, on French preparations, xl., p. 185.

deep. From that point he sent out Indian scouts, who marched seven or eight days, and at last fell in with eleven Iroquois, including one woman. They killed three and took the rest.[1] These prisoners were brought to Montreal, where they burned one or two, and spared the others, because the French, who had been slaves in their country, recognized them and attested that they owed their lives to them; they were however distributed among the villages of Sault St. Louis, the Mountain and Lorette. 1696.

Some other prisoners captured in the spring declared, that the Iroquois had kept shut up in their forts all winter, and were soon to come in large bands to prevent the French from putting in their crops. In fact several parties of those Indians prowled among our settlements, but by the wise foresight of the Governor of Montreal the labors of the farmers were not interrupted. None were surprised except a few settlers, who neglected to observe the orders given them. The Iroquois appear in the Colony.

On the 20th of March,[2] de Louvigny halted for lack of provisions, and a few days after the colony sustained a loss which very sensibly affected all. The Chevalier de Crisasy had flattered himself that after the recent proofs given of his zeal and ability, the court would do something in his favor, the more especially as the Governor General and Intendant had neglected no means to secure to him the reward to which his services seemed entitled. Their recommendations however met with no response, and the chevalier sank under the vexation which he experienced. He had at least the consolation on his deathbed of seeing great and little alike sympathize in his grief, and regret that merit such as his had been left in the shade.[3] Death of the Chevalier de Crisasy.

In the month of May the Chevalier de Callieres went down to Quebec to arrange with the Count de Frontenac the op-

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[1] Relation, 1695-6. N. Y. Col. Doc. ix, p. 641-2. Among those taken was a boy, the grandson of the great Daniel Garakonthié. De la Potherie, iii., p. 554.

[2] This is really the date of his return to Montreal. N. Y. Col. Doc. ix, p. 641.

[3] March, 1696. See ante, vol. iv. p. 196.

1696. erations of the campaign, the preparations for which were already far advanced; and when all had been concerted, he returned to Montreal to carry out what had been decided. On the 22d of June the Governor General joined him there, attended by Mr. de Champigny, the Chevalier de Vaudreuil, Mr. de Ramesay, Governor of Three Rivers, and the regulars and militia of the districts of Quebec and Three Rivers. Those of the district of Montreal were already assembled, and naught remained but to begin the march.[1]

Preparations for the coming campaign.

Arrangement of the Army.

On the 4th of July[2] ten Ottawas arrived at Montreal from the neighborhood of Onondaga, where they had long prowled without succeeding in taking a prisoner. At last, learning that a large party was forming to attack them, they retired to Catarocouy.

On learning there from the Sieur des Jordis, the Commandant, that all the French were on the point of taking the field, with the Count de Frontenac at their head, they declared that they would be enraptured to follow him. They accordingly came to offer him their services, and were the more readily accepted, as it was hoped that they would attract many of their countrymen.[3] They had met the General at la Chine, to which the army moved the same day. There, five hundred Indians also came in. These were divided into two detachments, one under Captain de Maricourt, composed of Sault St. Louis Iroquois and domiciliated Abénaquis: the other, which included the Hurons of Lorette, and the Iroquois of the Mountain, was commanded by two brothers, Lieutenant de Beauvais and Lieutenant le Gardeurs.[4]

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[1] Relation, &c., 1695–6, N. Y. Col. Doc. ix., p. 642–4, De la Potherie, Histoire de l'Amérique Sept., iii. p. 256, 260.

[2] De la Potherie, iii., p. 272, gives the 14th, but is clearly wrong. See N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 649.

[3] Relation, &c., N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 459. De la Potherie, Hist. &c., iii., p. 272.

[4] In the Index they are given as de Tilly de Beauvais, and de Tilly le Gardeur. De la Potherie, Histoire de l'Amérique Sept., iii., p. 272, corresponds with the text, but the Relation 1695–6, in N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 650, mentions only one, Gardeur de Beauvaire. According to Daniel, Nos Gloires i., p. 158, ii., p. 81, René le Gardeur de Beauvais, son

The ten Ottawas, who were joined by some Algonquins, Sokokis, and Nipissings, formed a separate party, whom the Baron de Bekancourt undertook to lead.[1] 1696.

The troops were divided into four battalions, of two hundred men each, under the orders of four veterans, captains de la Durantaye, de Muys, du Mesnil and the Chevalier de Grais. The Canadian militia were also formed into four battalions. That from Quebec was commanded by Mr. de St. Martin, second captain; that from Beaupré by Lieutenant de Grandville; that from Three Rivers by Mr. de Grandpré, Major of that place, and that from Montreal by Mr. de Chambauts, Attorney General in that city. Captain de Subercase discharged the duties of Major General, and each battalion of regulars and of militia had its Adjutant.

On the 6th the army proceeded to encamp on Isle Perrot, and the next day, it moved forward in this order. Mr. de Callieres led the van, composed of the first party of Indians, and two battalions of regulars; it was preceded by two large batteaux carrying the Commissary of the Artillery with two field pieces, mortars for throwing grenades, fireworks, and other similar munitions. Some canoes managed by Canadians kept them company, with all kinds of provisions. It moves from la Chine.

Count de Frontenac followed, surrounded by canoes, carrying his household and baggage, and a considerable number of volunteers, having with him le Vasseur, chief engineer. The four battalions of militia, more numerous than the regulars, formed the main body, commanded under the General by Mr. de Ramezai; while the two other battalions of regulars with the second party of In-

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of Charles le Gardeur, Sieur de Tilly, lieutenant in 1688, married in 1694, Mary Barbara de St. Ours, sister of the heroine, Mary Anne de St. Ours (De la Potherie, Hist. de l'Amerique Sept., iii., p. 91): garde marine in 1694, captain 1714, chevalier of St. Louis 1724, died 1733.

[1] De la Potherie, iii., p. 272, misprints Beraucour. The Relation 1695–6. N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 650, says Sr. de Beaucour.

1696. dians formed the rear, under the command of the Chevalier de Vaudreuil.[1]

Its march. The army advanced in this order, which was maintained during the march, except that the corps which formed the van one day, became rear guard the next. On the 19th they reached Catarocouy, where they halted till the 26th, waiting for 400 Ottawas promised by Mr. de la Motte Cadillac, but who did not make their appearance. Some French voyageurs were to accompany them, who likewise failed to come, not daring apparently to risk themselves alone on routes which they believed to be beset by the enemy's war parties. They were moreover obliged to leave at Catarocouy twenty-six sick, most of them injured while ascending the rapids.[2]

On the 28th the army reached the mouth of the river Chouguen.[3] As this river is narrow and rapid, the General, before entering, sent fifty scouts ashore on each side. That day he could not make more than a league and a half. The next day the army was divided into two corps, to push on more rapidly and occupy both banks of the river by land and water. Mr. de Frontenac took the left, with Mr. de Vaudreuil, the four battalions of regulars and one of militia. Messrs de Callieres and de Ramezai, with all the rest, held the right. In the evening they united after a march of three leagues, and halted at the foot of a fall, ten or twelve feet high, and extending across the river.[4]

It is in great risk, and saved by de Callieres' ability. The greater part of the army had unfortunately got caught in the current of this fall, and a backward movement would have been dangerous. The Governor of Montreal undertook to remedy this disorder. He made all his men jump

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[1] N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 649, 650, De la Potherie, Hist. de l'Am. Sept., p. 156, 271–2. The Relation des Affaires du Canada, 1696, p. 7, makes the whole force about 2200 men. Joseph Dubeau, N. Y. Col. Doc. iv, p. 241, 1600 French, 460 Indians.

[2] N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 650.

[3] The Relation and de la Potherie call it the River of the Onondagas. The Oswego River is a large and rapid stream, carrying to Lake Ontario, the waters of eight lakes, and draining 4500 square miles.

[4] Oswego Falls, at Fulton, are about twenty feet high.

into the water, take the cannon ashore and drag all the batteaux on rollers above the fall, and this operation, which lasted till ten o'clock at night, was effected with wonderful order by the light of bark torches. This rapid passed, they began to advance with greater precaution, not only because they were approaching the enemy, but because the road for those who had landed was wretched; the Chevalier de Vaudreuil having marched with all his men for five leagues knee deep in water.[1] 1696.

At last the army entered Lake Gannentaha[2] by a place called le Rigolet, which it would not have been easy to force had the enemy taken the precaution to occupy it. Two bundles of rushes were found hanging to a tree, which according to Indian custom showed that fourteen hundred and thirty-four warriors, for there were that many rushes in the two bundles, were waiting to receive the French, and thus defied them. The army then crossed the Lake in battle array, Mr. de Callieres, who commanded on the left, made a demonstration of landing on that side where the enemy were, and at the same time the Chevalier de Vaudreuil made a descent on the right with seven or eight hundred men; then, turning around the lake, proceeded to join Mr. de Callieres, after which all the rest of the army debarked. It arrives at Onondaga.

Mr. le Vasseur at once traced a fort, which was completed the next day. In this were enclosed the store of provisions, the canoes, batteaux, and its guard was confided to the Marquis de Crisasy and Mr. des Bergeres, both captains, to whom were assigned one hundred and fifty picked men. As the preparations for this expedition were not cloaked by any pretext, I do not see how they could have expected to surprise the Iroquois. It is true, indeed, that the public uncertainty as to the spot where the storm would break, long kept the cantons in suspense; but a miserable deserter from the village at the Mountain, who The Onondagas notified by a deserter.

[1] Beyond the Oneida river: N. Y. Col. Doc. ix. p. 657, De la Potherie, iii., p. 275.

[2] Onondaga lake; the Rigolet is the outlet. See ante, vol. ii., p. 189, 257.

1696. had been detached with several others of the same village to capture prisoners, informed them of the real design of the French.

Stratagem of the Chevalier de Calheres, and its result.

A report which this traitor then proceeded to bear to his own canton, the Senecas, produced a contrary effect to what he intended; the Chevalier de Callieres, who knew the Indians well enough to expect that some would desert, had taken the precaution, on starting from Catarocouy, to say quite loud, that it was no wonder the Ottawas did not arrive, as the Count de Frontenac had requested them to attack the Seneca canton, while he marched on Onondaga: nor did the deserter fail to carry this news to his countrymen, and it induced all the warriors of that canton to remain and defend it.[1]

The Onondagas burn their great village.

That same evening a bright light was seen in the direction of the great Onondaga village, and it was inferred that the Indians had set it on fire, as they had in reality. The next night another Seneca deserted. These two men had been taken in war the preceding year. As their lives were spared, they displayed great affection for the French, but prudence dictated that too much reliance must not be placed on their fidelity. Many trails had already been discovered, of men going to Cayuga and Oneida, and coming from those cantons. There was no doubt but that the Onondagas had sent thither all the useless mouths in their canton, and obtained thence in their stead all able to bear arms.[2]

On the 3rd the army proceeded to encamp half a league from the landing, near the Salt Springs elsewhere spoken of.[3] The next day, Mr. de Subercase drew them up in two lines, and made the necessary details to carry the artillery. Mr. de Callieres commanded the left of the line;

[1] Relation etc., 1695–6, p. 652. De la Potherie, iii., p. 275–7. The Relation des Affaires du Canada, 1696, p. 8, says the deserter reported the army as 6000, who were to attack Onondaga, Cayuga, and Seneca, simultaneously, and that on this, the Cayugas and Senecas returned home, and the Onondagas, after destroying the fort, retired to a town 25 leagues southward.

[2] N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 652. See Fletcher to Lords of Trade, Aug. 22, 1696. Ib., iv., p. 172

[3] Ante, vol. ii., pp. 189, 257.

and being troubled with lameness, he had taken the precaution to bring a horse, which he mounted. The Chevalier de Vaudreuil led the right, which was less exposed. The General was between the two, borne in an armchair, surrounded by his household and volunteers, with the artillery before him. The road was very difficult, and they did not reach the village till late in the evening, when it was found almost all in ashes, and two Frenchmen, who had long been prisoners, recently butchered.[1] 1696.

Negligence of the enemy.

It occasioned great surprise that the enemy had ruined their fort, where they might have made a long defence, as was evident from the vestiges that remained. Nor could men conceive how the English, who had built it, could have abandoned it so, without making any effort to assist their allies. This fort was a rectangle with four bastions, surrounded by a double palisade flanked by redoubts with a fence formed of poles forty or fifty feet high. Fifteen hundred Iroquois, as many English, some pieces of artillery, which could easily be brought from New York, the vicinity of the woods so well adapted for ambuscades, and the facility of the Rigolet for defence, were enough to put the Count de Frontenac in danger of receiving a repulse, or compel him to return without effecting anything.[2]

The Oneidas ask peace.

On the morning of the 5th, two women and a child from the Village on the Mountain, who had been for six years captives at Onondaga, escaped and came into camp, confirming the intelligence that six days before, all unable to bear arms had taken refuge a league distant. After dinner the same day, a French soldier who had been taken with Father Milet, arrived from Oneida, bearing a belt from the chiefs of that canton in order to solicit peace. The General at once sent him back with orders to say to those whose envoy he was, that he would indeed receive their

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[1] Relation, &c., 1695–6, N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 653, and de la Potherie are silent as to the two Frenchmen.

[2] Gov. Fletcher on the 7th Aug., 1696, O. S., proposed sending troops to cover the flight of the Indians, but his council voted it down. O'Callaghan's Doc., Hist. i., p. 217.

1696. submission, but on condition, that they should come and settle in the colony; that moreover they should not expect to delude him by sham negotiations, and that he was about to dispatch troops to learn their final answer.[1]

Mr. de Vaudreuil marches to Oneida.

In fact the next day the Chevalier de Vaudreuil set out for that canton at the head of six or seven hundred men.[2] He had orders to cut down the corn, burn the village, receive six chiefs as hostages, and in case they made the least resistance to put all to the sword whom he could reach. On the 6th a young Frenchman, seven years a prisoner at Onondaga, escaped and gave information of several caches of grain and goods, which the enemy had no time to carry off. Having seized these they began to cut the grain and ravage the country, as they continued to do for the next two days.[3]

Fortitude of an old man burned by our Indians.

On the 8th an Onondaga, said to be nearly a centenarian, was captured in the woods, having been unable or unwilling to flee with the rest; for he seems to have expected death with the same intrepidity as those ancient Senators of Rome when that city was taken by the Gauls. He was abandoned to the Indians, who, without regard to his advanced age, wreaked on him the rage caused by the flight of the rest. Never perhaps did man experience greater barbarity or display greater firmness and greatness of soul.

It was undoubtedly a singular spectacle to behold more than four hundred men, furiously assailing a decrepit old man, from whom by no torture they could extort a sigh,

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[1] Relation, &c. 1695–6, N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 653–4. The Relation des Affaires du Canada, 1696, p. 9, says that the Christian woman, who saved Milet, came and offered to go to Sault Saint Louis with 80 Oneidas, that Frontenac agreed, but that Vaudreuil's troops ravaged the place before terms were concluded.

[2] The Relation des Affaires du Canada, 1696, p. 9, says 700 men, including 300 Indians.

[3] Relation, &c., 1695–6, N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 654–5. De la Potherie, p. 280–1. The Oneidas fled to Albany, N. Y. Doc. Hist., i., p. 217. The French do not seem to have destroyed any of the towns, except one Oneida castle. Sanonguirese, the Mohawk, (Ib. p. 222,) in speaking of fire, alludes to the previous invasion of his canton: and Dackashhata, the Seneca, p. 223, alludes probably to Denonville's times, in speaking of two castles lost.

and who never ceased, as long as he lived, reproaching them for becoming the slaves of the French, of whom he affected to speak with the utmost contempt. The only complaint that fell from his lips, was when some one from compassion, or rage perhaps, gave him two or three stabs with a knife to dispatch him. "You should not," he said," shorten my life; you would have had more time to learn how to die like a man. As for me, I die happy, for I have nothing vile to reproach myself with."[1] 1696.

On the 9th Mr. de Vaudreuil after burning the fort and villages of the Oneida canton,[2] returned to the camp with thirty-five men, chiefly French prisoners, whose fetters he had broken; they were accompanied by the principal chiefs of the canton, who came to put themselves at Count de Frontenac's discretion.[3] That general gave them a very favorable reception, in the hope of drawing the others, but in this he was disappointed. In this party was a young Mohawk, who had come to Oneida to see what was going on. Having been recognized as a deserter from the village at the Mountain the winter before, he was burned. He had informed the Chevalier de Vaudreuil that the Mohawks and English had assembled at Orange (Albany) to the number of three hundred, to march to the relief of Oneida, which they saw would be evidently attacked; but that they had at once retraced their steps, and that the consternation was intense in all directions.[4] De Vaudreuil's operations at Oneida.

[1] Relation &c., 1695–6 N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 654, De la Potherie, iii., p. 279. The worst feature of this affair, is that this old man Thomas was a Christian of many years standing, and that he was tortured by the French against the wish of the Christian Iroquois. Frontenac would have saved his life when it was too late. Relation des Affaires du Canada, p. 11. The Relation in the N. Y. Col. Doc. says he was tortured by the Indians.

[2] Fletcher, Aug. 22, says he surprised and burned one Oneida Castle, N. Y. Doc., Hist. i., p. 216.

[3] Thirty came. Relation des Affaires du Canada, p. 10.

[4] Relation, &c., 1695–6, N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 655. Gov. Fletcher expected an attack on Albany and prepared to defend it. Speech to Assembly, N Y. Doc. History I., 226. Hamilton to Fletcher, N. Y. Col. Doc., iv., p. 200. Most of the Oneidas and Mohawks took refuge in Albany; N. Y. Doc. Hist. I., 217. Fletcher is styled Cayen quiragoe, evidently a translation of his originally French name (Flechier, arrowmaker), although he made it out to be Great Swift Arrow, in allusion to his prompt movements. N. Y. Col. Doc., iv., p. 222.

1696. On this information a council of war was held, and they discussed what was yet to be done to put the finishing stroke to an expedition already so well begun. The Count de Frontenac was at first of opinion that they should proceed to treat the Cayuga canton as they had just treated Onòndaga and Oneida, and this proposal was not only generally applauded, but it was added that after ravaging those three cantons, forts should be built there to prevent the Indians from returning.

Deliberation as to the course to be adopted.

This was also approved. The Chevalier de Callieres offered to remain in the country during the winter to carry out the project, and his offer was at first accepted. Mr. de Maricourt and some other officers, chiefly Canadians, as being more accustomed than the others to forest life and Indian pursuit, were appointed to remain under his orders; but great surprise was felt when the General that very evening announced that he had changed his mind and that preparations should be made for marching back to Montreal.

The Count de Frontenac, against the advice of all, leaves his expedition unfinished.

In vain did the Chevalier de Callieres represent to him that he should at least, before leaving the country, reduce the Cayugas the haughtiest of all the Iroquois, and the easiest to subdue, that this would only require them to descend a fine river that led to that canton, and that this expedition would require only a part of his army; he could obtain nothing, and we are assured that the Count de Frontenac let slip the expression that the Governor of Montreal was jealous of his glory, and that it was only to dim it that he wished to involve him in a new enterprise, of doubtful success. Be this as it may, the discontent became almost general, and those who concealed it least were the Canadians, and the Iroquois of Sault St. Louis.

Suspicions against him.

But in spite of the repeated instances of these last whom Frontenac disliked, he ordered the homeward march, saying quite loud: "They wish to tarnish my glory, and it is time that I take a little rest." The tradition which nine years after I found quite general in Canada, is that some

[1] Relation des Affaires du Canada, 1696, p. 10.

individuals, who did not wish to see the war ended so soon, had shown the Governor General, as he left the council, that if the Iroquois nation were once destroyed, or entirely incapacitated from giving us any uneasiness, the king would infallibly make a considerable reduction in the troops he maintained in the colony. 1696.

This was touching his weak spot; he loved to rule, he had the nomination to most of the military commands, which rendered all the good families absolutely dependant on him, and won him an authority, which it would mortify him deeply to see curtailed. Moreover he had the sense to perceive that the Court, where from time to time memorials against his conduct were received, would give him less scope, when they judged him less necessary. He accordingly believed, as his enemies pretend, that it was necessary to preserve an enemy whom he needed, in order to maintain himself in the elevated position which he occupied.

But to deem a man of that rank capable of thus sacrificing the peace of a colony to his ambition; of thus dishonoring the laurels he had come so far to win, and with such toil at the age of seventy-four, and tarnishing all the glory he had acquired since his return to Canada, requires, it would seem, evidence that the strongest conjectures cannot give. Nor is the fact that no motive can be conceived for his conduct enough to justify us in ascribing to him a dishonorable one. Moreover, if he had a great many partisans in New France, whom his personal merit had prepossessed in his favor, or who were bound to him by interest and gratitude, there were still more who deemed that they had good cause of complaint against him. And all know that resentment leaves far more durable impressions than gratitude and esteem, which are often buried in the grave with their object.[1]

The Count de Frontenac let the Indians and all who

[1] Although Charlevoix thus condemns Frontenac, we find no documents transmitted on the occasion, and Count de Pontchartrain, April 28, 1697, wrote stating that the king had expressed himself entirely satisfied with his expedition.

1696. disapproved his course, murmur. He set out on the 9th, and proceeded to encamp two leagues from his fort. He reached it on the 10th, and razed it. The next day he embarked, and reached Montreal on the 20th, having lost only six men in his campaign, two Indians, who, becoming intoxicated with brandy, were massacred by the Iroquois, one Frenchman whose canoe was attacked on the retreat, and three others drowned in the rapids, by not following the route assigned to them.[1]

Return of the army to Montreal.

Why our allies did not join this expedition.

Frontenac found at Montreal the Sieur d'Argenteuil who had come down from Michillimakinac with fifty Frenchmen to accompany him to Onondaga, but arrived too late. By this officer he learned the real reason that prevented our allies from joining him according to promise. This was simply ill will on their part, colored by pretexts as hollow, the most specious being their conviction that this expedition, like so many projects in previous years, would never be carried out.[2]

Frontenac wishes to force the Iroquois to ask peace.

Meanwhile the Governor General not only believed that he had effected much by humbling the Iroquois, but as he was informed that want of food was no less severe in the cantons to which he had not reached, than in those he had ravaged, and that New York was by no means in a position to furnish any, he flattered himself that the Iroquois, to avoid total ruin, would accept peace on such terms as he should be pleased to impose. To finish this compulsion he resolved to continue the war, and after giving his regulars and the militia time to recover from their hardships, he formed several detachments which harassed the enemy till the end of autumn.

Preparations to attack Fort Pemkuit.

He himself descended to Quebec, as soon as he had given his orders, and on the 25th of August, the Wasp, a royal ship, arrived with express orders from the king to put aboard regulars and Canadians under the command of Captain de Muys, an officer of merit, and one of the ablest

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[1] English accounts would make his loss larger, Colden, p. 192. N. Y. Col. Doc., iv., p. 242.

[2] N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., pp. 656, 648. De la Potherie, Histoire de l'Amérique Sept., iii., p. 267.

then in the colony. The Wasp was to carry this reinforcement straight to Placentia, and there to await Mr. d'Iberville, who was to sail thither only after he had wrested Fort Pemkuit from the English, according to the plan spoken of in the previous book.[1] 1696.

The Court had this enterprise greatly at heart; a fortified place amid the Abénaqui nations, giving ground to fear that these Indians, so necessary to New France, would be overwhelmed by all the forces of New England, as would have happened indubitably, had the English had more able governors, or forever detached them from our alliance by our failure to aid them; but our enemies, to effect this, adopted the very means calculated to repulse them.

New treachery of the English towards the Abenaquis.

A few months before, some Abénaquis had again allowed themselves to be drawn to Pemkuit by the hopes the English held out of releasing prisoners of their nation. They were quite well received at first, but when they deemed themselves most secure, two were killed with pistols. An attempt was made to seize the rest, but, surprised as they were, they made a long defence with their wonted valor. Two were killed, but at the cost of two English lives. The other Indians, it seems, whose number I could not ascertain, were made prisoners; for I find that Taxous, one of these last, killed two of his guards on the way and escaped, as some others did subsequently.[2]

It is inconceivable how the English failed to see that a different course would in time have succeeded in gaining a naturally mild and easy race; but nations, like individuals, never lay aside their peculiar character, and are almost always victims of their predominant fault. For the same reason these frequent acts of treachery did not correct the Abénaquis of a confidence of which they had

[1] Relation, &c., 1695-6, N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 657. Ante. Vol. iv., p. 275.

[2] N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 642, citing Thury's letter of May 21. This act of treachery was committed by Chubb (Feb., 1696). Hutchinson's History of Massachusetts, ii., p. 90. Williamson, History of Maine, i., p. 642.

1696. been so often the dupes, or of the want of forecast, which almost always reduced them to a want of actual necessaries. The least gleam of hope of delivering their brethren from a slavery whose harshness they knew, sufficed to efface from their memory the snares so often set with this bait, and there was ground to fear that they would at last make terms with an enemy, from whom they always forgot that they had nothing to hope, and whom they should never cease to fear.

Iberville and Bonaventure in Acadia.

This brought the king's council to resolve to deliver them from neighbors, who could not fail in time to prove their ruin, do what they would. They were convinced that on their preservation depended that of Acadia, and all its dependencies. Messrs. d'Iberville and de Bonaventure, commissioned as I have said, by the king to attack Pemkuit, arrived June 26th, at Spaniard Bay: there they found letters from the Chevalier de Villebon, informing them that three English ships awaited them at the mouth of the St. John's; accordingly, on the 4th of May they sailed out to meet them.[1]

They take an English ship.

They came up with them on the 14th, and d'Iberville having dismasted the Newport, of 24 guns, captured it without losing a man.[2] The other two escaped under cover of a dense fog that suddenly rose. Fifty Micmaks whom d'Iberville had taken aboard at Spaniard Bay contributed greatly to his victory. The next day the two French ships approached St. John's River, where the Chevalier de Villebon awaited them with fifty Indians; they remained there till Aug. 2nd, and landed the munitions they had brought for Fort Naxoat, which had replaced Fort Jemset. The fifty Indians who accompanied

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[1] Baudouin, Journal, Canada Doc. II., viii., p. 33; N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 558. The three vessels were the Sorlings, Capt. Eames, Newport, Capt. Paxton, and the Province tender. Hutchinson, History of Massachusetts, ii., p. 87–8, Church's Indian Wars, ii., p. 99n.

[2] N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 658, iv., p. 199. She carried 80 men, and lost her topmast. The Sorlings escaped in a fog. It had been defeated before in 1695. De la Potherie, begins with d'Iberville's operations after he proceeded to Newfoundland, and gives no details as to his operations in Acadia. Histoire de l'Amérique Sept., i., p. 24.

Villebon, and who were of the same nation as those with d'Iberville, embarked on the Profond, commanded by Mr. de Bonaventure.[1] 1696.

On the 7th they anchored at Pentagoet. There they found the Baron de St. Castin with two hundred Indians, Canibas and Malecites, and Mr. de Iberville distributed among them the king's presents, both for them and for those of their people who had gone on the war path in a different direction. Saint Castin and his troop then embarked in their canoes, with Captain de Villieu, Mr. de Montigny and twenty-five soldiers of Villieu's company. On the 13th, they arrived in sight of Pemkuit, which they invested on the fourteenth.[2] Att o Fort Pemkuit.

On the same day Messrs. d'Iberville and de Bonaventure anchored a league from the fort, and learning that Saint Castin had already planted two mortars and a cannon, they sent about five o'clock in the afternoon to summon the commandant, by name Chubd. That officer received the summons quite haughtily, and replied that were the sea all covered with French vessels and the land with Indians, he would not surrender, till compelled to do so.[3]

On this reply the Indians opened their fire; the fort kept up a pretty sharp fire of musketry, and discharged some cannon. About two o'clock in the morning, d'Iberville landed and pushed forward the batteries so diligently, that by three in the afternoon they were all ready, and five shells thrown into the fort filled it with alarm. Saint Castin perceiving this, warned the besieged that if they waited till the place was stormed, they would have to deal with Indians, from whom they well knew they could not expect quarter.[4]

This menace had its effect: the garrison, consisting of ninety-two men, compelled the commandant to capitulate. The conditions which he asked, were that no one should It capitulates.

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[1] Baudouin, Journal d'un Voyage. Canada Doc., II., viii., p. 33.

[2] Relation, &c., 1695–6, N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 658. De la Potherie, iii., p. 77.

[3] Baudouin, Journal, &c., pp. 34–6.

[4] Ib. p. 37. Hutchinson cites "original letter in Castine's (St. Castin's) handwriting."

1696. be robbed, that the commandant and all his men should be sent to Boston and exchanged for the French and Indians detained there, and that they should be protected against the fury of the Indians. All this was granted. Chubd and his garrison marched out of the fort that same evening, and Mr. de Villieu entered with sixty Frenchmen. The prisoners were then placed on an island under the guns of the royal ships, where there was no fear of their being annoyed by the Indians, a precaution even more necessary than at first supposed.

Villieu on entering the fort found a Canibas there in irons; and among the papers which the commandant had neglected to carry away or burn, an order recently sent from Boston, to hang this prisoner. Villieu was too prudent to communicate this order to the Indians then; but the prisoner was in the most wretched state possible, with legs stiff as a post, and seeming ready to expire. This roused his countrymen to a pitch of fury, which the French had great difficulty in controlling.[1] Fort Pemkuit was not as good a fort as it appeared; yet it is certain, that had it been defended by brave men, the result of the siege might have been doubtful, or its capture would at all events have cost many lives. Nothing required for a long defence was wanting; the powder magazine was proof to all but bombs, and even to them except in a small spot, because a rock against which it rested formed part of its vault and walls. Moreover there were in the fort fifteen pieces of artillery mounted, and nothing could could be better devised or more convenient than the quarters for the officers and men.[2]

Part of the prisoners sent to Boston.

The 17th and 18th were spent in destroying it. D'Iberville then sent part of the garrison to the commandant of New England, notifying him that if he wished to obtain the rest and the crew of the Newport, he must at once de-

[1] Baudouin, Journal, Canada Doc., III. viii., p. 38. He was apparently an Indian taken when Edzerimet was killed. N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 658. Canada Doc., III i., p. 368-9.

[2] Baudouin, Journal, &c., p. 38; Hutchinson's History of Massachusetts, ii., p. 90. The fort contained 92 men, some women and children. N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 658, iv., p. 199.

liver up to him all the French and their allies detained in his prisons. At the same time he started for Pentagoët, where he awaited for some time the reply of the commandant; but as it delayed considerably, and he had not provisions for so large a force, he sent a hundred more men to Boston, and retained only the officers, whom he committed to the care of Mr. de Villieu. 1696.

On the 3rd of September he sailed with de Bonaventure and his prize. They had scarcely doubled the islands at the mouth of the Pentagoët (Penobscot) when they perceived seven sail approaching them, and keeping them between the shore and themselves: d'Iberville at once hailed the Sieur de Lauson, who commanded the Newport, which carried the hundred Micmaks taken aboard at Spaniards' Bay and St. John's River, to keep as near him as possible. The two French ships avoid an English squadron.

The Indians, on their side, who thought as a matter of course that they were to fight, begged that officer to engage the largest of the enemy's vessel sooner than surrender, as they preferred to die arms in hand and after first avenging their death, rather than rot in the dungeons of Boston. Lauson promised to do so; but in the evening the English squadron being very near, d'Iberville tacked, and steered towards the mainland; then, after sailing a league, he ran along the coast towards Mount Desert. On this the English, despairing of overtaking him, or perhaps fearing to approach a coast which they did not know very well, also changed their course and steered for the St. John's.[1]

The next morning d'Iberville seeing no more of them, put off to sea, and so ran down to Isle Royale or Cape Breton; this prevented his taking aboard a large number of Indians who were awaiting him at Port de la Héve, and who were to accompany him to Newfoundland. He even They arrive at Placentia.

[1] Baudouin, Journal, &c., p. 39–40. This fleet of five vessels was fitted out at Boston, on hearing of the loss of the Newport and the fort. Five hundred men were sent to defend New Hampshire. The Arundel and Orford, men-of-war, with the Sorlings, and a 20 gun ship and fireship, were sent to the Penobscot. Hutchinson, History of Massachusetts, ii., p. 91. They did not go to the St. John, but returned to Boston.

1696. landed on Cape Breton those on the Newport, except three who would not leave him, and on the 12th of August he anchored in the harbor of Placentia, having lost on his expedition only young du Tast, a midshipman serving as ensign on his ship. This officer had so exposed himself during the siege of Pemkuit that he was seized with a pleurisy, of which he died.[1]

Villebon is taken by the English.

Meanwhile the English squadron, which had missed the three French ships, fell in with the Chevalier de Villebon[2] returning to his fort Naxoat with a party of Indians, and took him prisoner.[3] Thence it continued its route towards Acadia, and anchored off Beaubassin, where four hundred men, including one hundred and fifty Indians, were landed. One Bourgeois who had a settlement in those parts, came out in a boat to see the commandant on his ship: he presented to him a document by which all the inhabitants of Beaubassin had bound themselves at the time of the conquest of Acadia by Sir William Phibs to remain faithful to King William, and had been received under his protection.

They commit many hostilities in Acadia against the laws of nations.

The commandant, having read this document, assured Bourgeois that he would injure no one, and even forbade his soldiers to take anything in the houses or to kill more cattle than they needed to live. He then proceeded with his chief officers to Bourgeois' house, where several other settlers came to salute him; but while he was in this house, the master regaling him with his best, his soldiers

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[1] Baudouin, Journal, &c., p. 41, De la Potherie, Histoire de l'Amérique Sept., i., p. 24.

[2] Charlevoix here falls into an error which leads him into great confusion. The Orford captured Villieu—not Villebon—with 23 men. Hutchinson, ii., p. 91, Canada Documents, III., i., p. 340. Relation, &c., 1696–7, N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 664. N. Y. Col. MSS. 42, p. 95, gives a list of soldiers taken with Villieu and scattered in the W. Indies and elsewhere.

[3] Relation, &c., 1696–7, N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 664, and De la Potherie, iii., p. 290, says that Villieu was captured in bad faith, he being engaged in exchanging prisoners. He was so closely confined that Villebon threatened retaliation in a letter to the Council at Boston, April 21st, 1697, Canada Doc., II., viii., p. 9.

Charlevoix, like de la Potherie, iii., p. 290, supposes the Orford and its fleet went on. Hutchinson, ii., p. 91. The fleet that went to Beaubassin was one of small vessels under Maj. Church. Church's Indian Wars, ii., pp. 96, &c.

scattered through all the others, acting there as though they were in a conquered country. 1696.

Several settlers had suspected shrewdly that this would happen, and these had taken refuge in spots where they knew no attempt would be made to follow them: they would not come forth for all that was said on behalf of the English general to reassure them, and they were wise; for that general soon observed the terms as little as his men did; the Indians were actually those who showed most humanity. At the end of nine days there was not an edifice left standing at Beaubassin except some houses and barns from which everything had been carried off, and the church, which was not yet touched. But the English having subsequently perceived a placard on it signed by Mr. de Frontenac, and containing some regulations as to trade, the commandant, on being informed of it, broke out into reproaches against the settlers, threatened to treat them as rebels, ruined them completely, and reduced their church to ashes.

He then presented to them an English document to sign, telling them that it contained only a new declaration, acknowledging themselves subjects of King William, and he added that it would serve as a safeguard against any English who might land on their coast.[1] This done he re-embarked, and on the 29th of September he hoisted sail for St. John's River, which he reached the same day. An ensign of the garrison of Naxoat, named Chevalier, was on vidette at the mouth of the river, with a detachment of three or four soldiers; he first perceived a brigantine of about 60 tons and the next day was attacked by the English, who had landed unperceived by him.

He made for the woods, and proceeded to notify his commandant of the arrival of the enemy, whose number and force he had been unable to ascertain. This com-

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[1] De la Potherie, iii., p. 290. Church in his accounts says nothing of Phips' proclamation, nor of his destruction of the church and houses, but he admits doing the Acadians considerable injury. Church's Indian War, ii., p. 113–5,

1696. mandant was the Chevalier de Villebon, who had apparently been released,[1] having shown that he was not a lawful prisoner of war, as he had been arrested while bearing a passport in due form. Two days after Chevalier returned to the sea with two others; but he fell into an ambuscade laid for him by some Indians; he was killed and his two soldiers taken.

They besiege Fort Naxoat.

The latter, from some unknown motive, showed the English several caches of munitions and goods made quite near, and the whole was put on board the ship, which at once sailed for Boston.[2] They had not gone far before they fell in with a 32 gun-frigate[3] and two smaller vessels, commanded by Sikik, an English captain who, by virtue of an order which he bore,[4] obliged the squadron to return to St. John's River and attack Fort Naxoat. Thus the enemy's force, augmented by three ships and two hundred men, reappeared at the mouth of the St. John's River, when it was supposed to be near Boston.

The Chevalier de Villebon heard of this on the 12th of October from his brother Mr. de Neuvillette, the youngest of the sons of the Baron de Bekancourt, and who had been sent to ascertain what had become of the Sieur Chevalier. He had written the evening before to the Recollect Father Simon, who directed an Indian Mission quite near there, to beg him to induce all his neophytes he could to come and join him, and on the 14th, that religious brought him thirty-six warriors. The next day he sent back Neuvillette to the sea, and on the 16th, that officer returned to Naxoat, having found the enemy in quite strong force, half a league below Jemset, that is to say, half way between Naxoat and the mouth of the river.

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[1] He had not been taken. See ante p. 28. Chevalier lost one killed and one taken, Church's Indian Wars, ii., p. 117.

[2] Villebon, Journal, Canada Doc., II., viii., p. 1–28, Church's Indian War, ii., p. 119, 117.

[3] The Arundel, Captain Kiggins, with the Province galley, Capt. Southack, and a transport sloop, Capt. Alden. Hutchinson, History of Massachusetts, ii., p. 94. Colonel Hawthorn, of the Council, here superseded Church.

[4] From Gov. Stoughton.

1696.

Mr. de Villebon had already put his fort in quite a good condition; he spent all the rest of the day in throwing up new intrenchments, in which he was supported heartily by his brother, by de Gannes, one of his officers, by the Sieur de la Côte, King's Scrivener, and by the Sieur Tibierge, Agent of the Acadia Company. On the evening of the 17th, he drew up his garrison under arms at beat of drum, made them a very inspiring military address, exhorted them to despise an enemy who, with all his advantage of numbers, could not usually cope with the French, and he concluded by promising on his honor, that, if any one had the misfortune to be crippled fighting for his king and country, his Majesty would provide for his maintenance the rest of his days.

De Villebon prepares for defence.

This speech was answered by loud cries of "Vive le Roy," and at the same time there arrived at the fort the Sieurs de Clignancourt,[1] and Baptiste, with ten Frenchmen who resided below Naxoat. Mr. de Villebon ordered them to put themselves at the head of the Indians, to prevent the English from landing, and to send him every day some one to receive his orders. All being thus disposed, each man took his post, resolved not to leave it except with his life, and as the barking of the dogs showed that the enemy were approaching, all passed the night under arms.

Courage of the garrison.

On the 18th, between eight and nine o'clock in the morning, while the commandant was hearing mass, he was notified that a boat full of armed men was in sight. He at once fired the alarm gun, and every man instantly resumed his post. Two other boats, armed like the first, followed close upon it: he allowed them to approach till within half cannon range and then he fired, compelling them to seek shelter behind a point, where they landed, the French being unable to prevent them, although they were not more than musket shot distant, because the river was between them. The English were at once heard crying:

Attack on the Fort.

[1] Clignancourt was a son of Louis d'Amours, a Parisian gentleman of noble extraction. His sons bore besides the name d'Amours, those of Freneuse, de Plaine, and Clignancourt.

1696. "Long livethe King," and the garrison did the sa me on its side.

A moment after the enemy were seen advancing in good order till opposite the fort, where the river is as wide as a good pistol shot. Here they encamped and at once began to throw up a breastwork to protect them from the fire of the fort. They then put in position a battery of two field pieces, which in three hours were ready to fire. They next hoisted the royal flag of England, and in the evening planted a third and larger cannon nearer the fort, but as it was unprotected it fired little.

The two first were well handled; but the cannon of the fort even better. The musket fire on both sides was quite heavy, and the Indians of each force advancing a little on the bank of the river fought like braves. Night coming on put an end to the action, and the Chevalier de Villebon perceiving the enemy prepare to light fires, the cold being extremely sharp, gave several alarms to prevent them, but as this failed to produce the expected effect, he loaded a cannon with grape, and the first volley compelled them to extinguish all their fires.

Thus they spent a very severe night, and at daybreak the musketry of the fort again opened on them. They did not reply till about eight or nine o'clock, and then only with the two pieces of their battery. La Côte, who had greatly distinguished himself the day before, by his rapid and accurate fire, soon dismounted one of these two pieces, and kept up so terrible a fire on the second that it was abandoned soon after. Towards noon the Sieur de Falaise[1] arrived from Quebec, having used the greatest dispatch, in order to take part in the defence of Naxoat, the siege of which he learned on his route. A post was immediately assigned to him, and during the rest of the day the fire of the fort was very severe.

In the evening the enemy kindled a fire covering a large space, and then there was little doubt but that they pro-

[1] Apparently de Gannes de Falaise, already named on the last page.

1696.

posed decamping. Some time after they were perceived loading their boats, and M. de Villebon wished the Indians commanded by de Clignancourt and Baptiste, to cross the river below the fort and fall upon them; but they refused, I know not why: the next day the camp of the besiegers was found abandoned. Neuvillette was at once detached in pursuit; but after marching three leagues, found them embarked on four vessels of about sixty tons, and descending the river with a favorable wind.[1]

The siege is raised.

He fired on them, to give them the idea that the Indians were in pursuit, and then returned to the fort. In this siege we had only one soldier killed, another had both legs carried off by one of our cannon, and a third was maimed by his gun bursting in his hands. The precipitation with which the English retired, induced the belief, that they did not come off as well. Before embarking they burned two or three houses, and left near the mouth of the river, two settlers whom they had brought from Beaubassin with their wives and children; but no information could be obtained from them as to the enemy's loss.[2]

Position of the English and French in Newfoundland.

While the English were thus severely handled in Acadia, preparations were making to expel them from Newfoundland, where they occupied quite a number of posts, almost all on the east side of the island. They had even very important settlements, with easy communication from one to another by roads opened through the woods. Several of the settlers were very rich, and by their own admission their trade amounted to seventeen millions a year. In a word they constituted a power in Newfoundland which might render them absolute masters of the richest, easiest, and most extensive commerce in the world, and one requiring least outlay, the codfisheries.

We were, from having taken as good measures, to share

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[1] Villebon, Journal de ce qui s'est passé à l'Acadie, Canada, Doc., II., viii, 1–28.

[2] Church in his Indian Wars, [2] Hutchinson's Hist. Massachusetts, ii., pp. 98–9. Hathorne's Journal, referred to by Church, in his Indian Wars, seems no longer extant.

1696. it with them. The colony of Placentia, though lying on one of the finest and most commodious harbors in America, was not to be compared with the meanest of their settlements. A cotemporary author, and eye-witness of what he asserts, declares that the richest of our settlers was not more comfortably lodged than one is on shipboard; that all were reduced there to a ration a day, that is to say, to a sailor's portion; that no one was in a condition to assist the poor, or the sick, and that they had not even taken the trouble to erect an hospital.

The fort at Placentia was none too good, difficulty of approach constituting its main strength, and the whole garrison at the governor's disposal was eighteen soldiers, to whom on an emergency might be added eighty fishermen, both little experienced in war, and not to be depended upon for sudden action.

Character of the Governor of Placentia

Mr. de Brouillan, whom we have already seen repulsing the English before his post, was still governor. He was a brave man, an intelligent and experienced officer; but he had not the tact of winning the attachment either of those under his orders, or of those whom the cod-fishery drew to his district. A desire for accumulating property seldom fails to produce this unfortunate result; it serves at least as a pretext, and gives occasion to accuse of violence and vexations, those who cannot repress or conceal this passion. Unfortunately de Brouillan had at least the reputation of being a grasping and interested man, and the king's service suffered as much as his glory.

As to religion, no one knew over well, whether the English on Newfoundland had one, for in this great number of pretty well settled posts, not a single minister was to be seen. From this resulted such a laxity of morals, that in the misfortunes which we shall see overtaking them, the wisest acknowledged the hand of God pressing heavily

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[1] De Brouillan was made Governor of Placentia in 1690, a Chevalier of St. Louis in 1698, Commandant in Acadia in 1701, Governor in 1702, Daniel, ii., p. 346; he remained in office till his death at Chibouctou Sept. 22, 1705, Canada Doc., III., ii., p. 655. Post 172.

upon them.[1] There was no abundance and luxury to create such disorders among the French, who most frequently lacked what was absolutely necessary; but for the most part they were not less bereft of spiritual than of temporal aid, and to prompt men to turn to God in necessity and endure misery with becoming Christian patience requires instruction at least in the great principles of Christianity. 1696.

Such was the situation of the two European Colonies, which divided the island of Newfoundland, when Mr. d'Iberville proposed to the court to bring all under the king's jurisdiction. As his Pemquit expedition had detained them longer on the coast of Acadia than he had expected to be there, he did not reach Placentia till the twelfth of September.[2] Mr. de Brouillan, who according to their agreements was to wait for them there till the end of August, had sailed three days before with the king's ship Pelican, and eight St. Malo vessels, the Count de Thoulouse, the Philippeaux, and the Diamond, three corvettes and two fire-ships, to proceed to attack St. John. This was the English headquarters, and the port where the King of England's vessels generally entered.[3] He sets out to attack St. John.

Although he had certain information that the English were aware of his project, he did not think it his duty to use dispatch and attack the coast where they were less on their guard, and preferred to await a favorable wind to proceed to St. John. But as he rode ten or twelve leagues outside the harbor, the weather became so bad, and the sea so stormy, that the ships that accompanied him were for a long time driven from him. They rallied at last seven or eight leagues from land, and it was resolved to delay entering the harbor no longer. He is unable to enter.

He was only cannon-shot distant, when he seized a sloop, apparently coming out to observe, and on board he found the Sieur Ites, commandant of an English ship of war

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[1] De la Potherie, Histoire de l'Amérique Septentrionale, i., p. 52.

[2] Canada Doc., II., viii., p. 41.

[3] De la Potherie, Histoire de l'Amérique, Sept., i., p. 24, and the Hist. Brit. Empire in America, pp. 141–2, mention also the Vendome (Vendange,) and Harcour.

1696. called "Le Soldat de Prise."[1] From this officer he learned that there were forty ships at St. John, some carrying from eighteen to thirty-two guns mounted. This information did not produce any change in his plans, and he prepared to land at the entrance of the harbor, at nightfall, but having been carried six leagues south by the tide, in spite of all his efforts to keep his position, his plan failed.

Other currents then took him, without his perceiving it, opposite a bay called Baboul, a corruption of Bayeboul, to which he had two days previously dispatched the Philippeaux and the Comte de Thoulouse to seize that post and capture the Zephyr, an English ship of war, and two merchantmen at anchor there. But these two vessels having failed to approach the land, rejoined Mr. de Brouillan. That governor wished to try whether fortune would not be more propitious to him, and in fact entered the bay under a light wind, which fell entirely while he was manœuvring to attack the Zephyr.

He takes several posts.

The fire of five small forts, which he then received, did not prevent his ordering two landing parties, one on the left under his nephew, Mr. de St. Ovide,[3] and the other on the right under the command of the Sieur de l'Hermite,[4] Major of Placentia. Both succeeded; l'Hermite drove the English from two batteries, which galled the French ships considerably; St. Ovide captured two forts into which the captain of the Zephyr had retired with the greatest part of his crew, and a considerable number of settlers who fled to the woods.

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[1] Hon. Ambrose Shea represents Newfoundland Archives as devoid of contemporary documents.

[2] Hist. Brit. Empire, pp. 141–2, says that Cleasby, after the settlers fled, fired the Sapphire and retired to Ferryland with his officers and 35 men, 100 of his crew being taken. He was taken Sept. 21, O. S. The Sapphire blew up with 40 French. 'Southward of St. John's, at a distance of 6 or 7 leagues is a considerable harbor named the Bay of Bulls." Pedley's Newfoundland, p. 75.

[3] De St. Ovide was ensign in 1692, lieutenant in 1694, captain in 1696, king's lieutenant at Placentia in 1709, and at Cape Breton in 1714, Daniel, ii., p. 351, and Governor 1720, to 1736, if not longer. N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 1034.

[4] L'Hermite is supposed, by Daniel, to have been lost on the Chameau in 1725.

Mr. de Brouillan then wished to return to St. John, passionately desirous of capturing it without d'Iberville's assistance; but a misunderstanding between him and the St. Malo men obliged him to steer to Forillon, which he carried sword in hand, in spite of the vigorous resistance of Sieur Clasby, captain of the Zephyr, who was made prisoner with all his men. Aiguefort, Freneuse and Rognouse, cost him only the trouble of a march overland, for he found these posts deserted. He declared that had the St. Malo men obeyed his orders, they would have captured a great many merchantmen, which were in all these ports. Nevertheless he took about thirty in this expedition, after which he returned to Placentia, less flattered by these minor successes, than mortified at his failure to take St. John, and much incensed at the St. Malo men, who in return complained loudly of him. 1696.

He quarrels with d'Iberville.

He arrived at his post on the 17th of October, and there found d'Iberville, who had been unable to join him from want of provisions. He had not however lost his time; for after several excursions to reconnoitre the country, after receiving by the Wesp and Postillon the reinforcements of men and the provisions he expected from Quebec, he made his preparations to go and attack Carbonniere, the most northerly English post. He was on the point of sailing thither, when Mr. de Brouillan landed at Placentia. He imparted his design to that governor, but the latter flatly declared that he did not relish the project and would not consent to it, and that if d'Iberville persisted, he would prevent the Canadians from accompanying him.

The Canadians rise in favor of d'Iberville.

D'Iberville knew him well enough to fear that, if he gainsayed him, de Brouillan would force matters to some disastrous extremity. He accordingly deemed it better to yield, resolved even to sail back to France, and leave the Governor of Placentia in command of an expedition in which he despaired of acting in concert with him; but the Canadians no sooner learned this resolve, than they all to a man declared, that they were bound to him alone; that they had Frontenac's orders to recognize him as their com-

1696. mander, and that they would return to Quebec sooner than accept another.

D'Iberville was a Canadian, and no one did more honor to his native land; he was accordingly the idol of his countrymen. In a word these brave Canadians were the Tenth Legion, who would fight only under Cæsar, and at whose head Cæsar was invincible. Moreover the St. Malo men complained bitterly of the Governor of Placentia, who had moreover the name of being harsh and haughty in command, and there were never troops with whom harshness and hauteur are so ineffectual as with the Canadian militia, men nevertheless very easily managed, by one who can take just the opposite course, and is able to gain their esteem.

The two commanders are reconciled.

Mr. de Brouillan, who knew the Canadians men to keep their threat, and unable to deny that the king had confided all the enterprises to be undertaken during the winter to d'Iberville, informed him through Mr. de Muys, that he laid claim to no part of the booty at St. John, his only ambition being to share with him in that noble conquest. D'Iberville replied that he was inclined to begin at the north, for the reason that the English were not on their guard there, as they doubtless were at St. John. Nevertheless, seeing the governor obstinate on this point, and fearing some outbreak among his Canadians, he yielded, for peace sake.[1]

An agreement was accordingly made between them, by which they were to go to St. John separately, d'Iberville with his Canadians, and de Brouillan with the regulars and his own militia; when they united the Governor of Placentia was to have all the honors of command: but the booty was to be so divided between the two corps that d'Iberville, who incurred most of the expense of the expedition, should have likewise the best portion of the booty.

Harmony thus being restored among the French, de

[1] De la Potherie, i., p. 24–5.

1696.

Brouillan embarked on the Profond, still commanded by de Bonaventure, who though a Canadian, and a friend of d'Iberville, seemed to take no part in his disputes with the Governor of Placentia. Mr. de Muys also embarked with the latter, who had succeeded in gaining that officer by giving him hopes of commanding the Canadians, who under any other circumstances would have had no hesitation in marching under his orders.[1]

They set out for St. John.

D'Iberville set out on the 1st of November by land, with all his Canadians, several gentlemen and some Indians. After nine days as severe march as can be imagined he reached Forillon ;[2] the Chevalier de Rancogne, a gentleman from Angoulême, joined him next day, coming from St. John, to which de Brouillan had sent him with some soldiers, to examine the actual condition of the post. On the way he took an Englishman who escaped and gave the alarm at St. John. The English governor sent out a detachment in pursuit of Mr. de Rancogne, and this party overtook that officer, killed one man, wounded another and took four prisoners. Rancogne escaped almost alone, having marched twenty-four days by frightful roads, and passed several without food.[3]

Quarrel again.

On the 12th, d'Iberville went alone by boat to Rognouse, the appointed rendezvous, to confer with Mr. de Brouillan, but was taken aback, on his asking what he deemed best to do, by that governor replying, that his men must await him at Forillon, to which he would proceed at once ; that they would thence go to St. John in boats together, while the Profond sailed, so as to be off the harbor when they arrived ; that moreover he laid claim to half the booty to be taken at St. John. D'Iberville replied that this was not their agreement ; Brouillan denied having treated with him on any other basis, and gave him to understand that he would not recede from his claim.

D'Iberville restrained himself, and resolved to part com-

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[1] Canada Doc., II., viii., p. 48. De la Potherie i., p. 26.

[2] Canada Doc., II., viii., p. 49.

[3] De la Potherie, i., p. 27–8.

1696. pany without a word. He so wrote Mr. de Pontchartrain, as soon as he returned to Forillon, adding that it was a compulsory step for him to act so, as he had to deal with a man to whom he could no longer speak without risking a personal collision, and to whom he thought it his duty not to give up his Canadians, because they were not men to submit to such treatment as he had given the men of St. Malo. Mr. de Brouillan apparently suspected his design, and informed him that he yielded. D'Iberville never showed himself hard to appease, and the reconciliation appeared sincere on both sides; the two commandants set out together for the Baye de Toulle,[1] which is on the road from Rognouse[2] to St. John.

Another reconciliation.

On the way they met the Sieur de Plaine, a Canadian gentleman, sent out on a scout by d'Iberville, and now returning with twelve prisoners. From them it was ascertained that there were a hundred and ten English at Baye de Toulle, and that all who had abandoned the posts taken by the Governor of Placentia, and the St. Malo men, had merely lost their houses, which they expected to rebuild in the spring, and carry on their fishery as usual. This confirmed d'Iberville in his opinion that the English posts on that island must be attacked by the woods, because in this way he could capture all they possessed, and they would not know where to take refuge. This induced him to send the Profond to France. It sailed on the 22nd, after taking on board all the prisoners that d'Iberville considered at his disposal.

Bad faith and new claims of deBrouillan

The Governor of Placentia awaited only this departure to drop the mask. He began by claiming that all the Canadians should be under his orders; he appointed Mr. de Muys to command them, declaring that he would brain the first who refused to obey him. He then told d'Iberville that he might go where he pleased, with his volunteers. The latter then, when too late, saw the snare laid for him by Mr. de Brouillan to induce him to send off the

[1] De la Potherie, i., p. 29, says Baye-boulle, that is Bay of Bulls; ante p. 36.

[2] Ranous on Charlevoix's map. Renowes on modern maps.

Profond, and so compel him to remain on Newfoundland, where he would not be sorry to see him out of spite stand with folded arms, while he had all the honor and profit of reducing St. John.[1] 1696.

They are again mutually appeased.

Yet the governor was not free from uneasiness, on the score of the Canadians; he felt that he was about to light up a civil war, in which he would not perhaps be the stronger: nor was he even sure of having in his favor all the men from his own jurisdiction; moreover he had too much sense not to foresee that the consequences of this affair, result as it might, could not fail to be disastrous, and would be laid to him. On the other hand, d'Iberville, naturally moderate, did nothing to fan the fire, and resolved to leave the Governor of Placentia in the wrong completely. Yet he was not a little embarrassed himself, by the inability, to which he was reduced, of fulfilling his engagements with the Canadians, and he feared that he had not sufficient authority over them, to prevent their righting themselves by force of arms. These reflections, calmly made on both sides, produced a third reconciliation. There were mutual promises, to discuss nothing more.

The army marches on St. John.

The army at once moved for Bay de Toulle, which is six leagues from Forillon,[1] and arriving there the same day found an English vessel of a hundred tons, abandoned by the crew, who had fled to the woods with all the inhabitants of the place. On the 24th, d'Iberville sent out several detachments of Canadians as scouts, all of which took prisoners, and on the 26th, the day fixed for their departure from Bay de Toulle, he himself took the lead with seven Canadians to seize a height, from which the English might have reconnoitred his army and impeded his march.[2]

Vigorous action of d'Iberville.

After advancing about three leagues, he came upon one of his parties, which had pushed through to St. John, and kept it with him. A little farther on he saw thirty Englishmen who had discovered his army; he pursued them, and with

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[1] Ferryland Point.

[2] De la Potherie, i., p. 30.

1696. them entered a little harbor, from which they had come, crossed a very rapid river, up to his waist in water, carried by assault a kind of intrenchment, which the English defended quite well, and remained master of the harbor. The enemy lost thirty-six men, killed on the spot, with several taken; the rest escaped to St. John.[1]

Montigny's exploits.

That evening the army joined d'Iberville in the same place, and there he was obliged to remain all the next day, by a snow so thick that it darkened the air, and lasted till night. Montigny, who could not remain inactive, and who was the most troublesome neighbor that the English could have, in spite of the storm made a reconnoissance through the woods, and brought in several prisoners. He was the same officer who was wounded at the attack on Schenectady,[2] and who greatly distinguished himself at the siege of Pemkuit.

On the morning of the 28th, the whole army marched in order, Montigny with thirty other Canadians in the van, five hundred paces ahead of the main body. De Brouillan and d'Iberville followed at the head of the troops,[3] having with them Nescambiouit,[4] an Abénaqui chief, a brave man, who was at Versailles in 1706 caressed and loaded with presents by the king. The garrison of Placentia was at the head, but it was agreed that the Canadians were to begin the attack.

After a march of two hours and a half, Montigny saw within pistol-shot a body of eighty-eight English, advantageously posted behind some rocks. He fired upon them without hesitation, and they, seeing only thirty men, replied with a volley of musketry, and awaited them in their post with great resolution. Montigny held firm on his side, keeping up a constant fire while awaiting the army, which soon came up. De Brouillan attacked the enemy

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[1] Canada Documents, II. viii., p. 58. De la Potherie, i., p. 31.

[2] Ante, vol. iv., p. 125.

[3] Canada Documents, II. viii., p. 52, De la Potherie, i., p. 31.

[4] De la Potherie calls him Pierre Jeanbeovilh, p. 27, the printer having made the first letters into Pierre Jean instead of Nescam, and then in despair made beovilh out of biouit.

in front, while d'Iberville turned to the left, to take them on the flank unprotected by the rock. 1696.

Defeat of a body of the enemy.

They fought well, but after half an hour's defence, gave way on all sides. D'Iberville, followed by a small number of the most alert Canadians, pursued the fugitives at the point of the sword, and drove them fighting to St. John, which was only three quarters of a league distant.[1] He reached it a quarter of an hour before the army, and in that short time had seized two forts and made thirty-three prisoners. The people of St. John had depended greatly on the eighty-eight men just defeated, and when they saw the French enter the town with the rest, they were seized with such a panic that had d'Iberville had a hundred men with him, he would also have taken by storm a third fort held by two hundred men.

In the action just described, the enemy lost fifty-five men. Mr. de Brouillan did wonders, and had his trumpeter killed by his side : three others of his men were wounded and two Canadians killed. The soldiers of the garrison of Placentia did their duty very well ; but it was remarked that they needed a few campaigns against the Indians in Canada, to learn to cover themselves while uncovering the enemy. This is d'Iberville's reflection in his report on the campaign made to the Count de Pontchartrain.

Siege of Fort St. John.

The army, on entering the town of St John, perceived a vessel, on which many of the English had taken refuge, crowding sail to leave the port, and it was subsequently ascertained that they had taken aboard the most precious articles from the private houses. The fort, still to be taken, was surrounded by a palisade eight feet high, but was otherwise in a wretched condition. The army encamped in the houses of the town, and a summons was sent to the governor through a woman, one of the prisoners. The governor retained her and gave no answer.

Concluding that he had determined to defend the place, they sent at once to Bay de Toulle for the mortars, can-

[1] Canada Documents, II., viii., p. 52.

1696. nons and munitions, left there. On the night of the 29th and the 30th de Muys and de Montigny were ordered with sixty Canadians to burn the houses nearest the fort, and those beyond. D'Iberville and Nescambiouit advanced with thirty picked men to support them, and the Governor of Placentia drew up all his men in line to march, if required, to their assistance. The houses were burned, and on the 30th an English soldier came out of the fort with a white flag.

The governor seeks to amuse the French in hopes of speedy relief.

On the propositions made by him, an interview outside the fort was agreed to, the governor not wishing the French to see its wretched condition. In fact all the strength of St. John was to the seaward, as the English had never dreamed of an attack from the land side. The governor came to the place of meeting with four of the chief men of the town. Mr. de Brouillan submitted his terms, and he asked till the next day to reply. He merely sought to gain time, as he had sighted two large vessels which had for two days been tacking to endeavor to run in the harbor; but his design was seen, and he was told that he must decide instantly, or an assault would be ordered.

He surrenders.

Being in no condition to withstand it, he agreed to surrender that very day, on the following conditions: 1st, That two vessels should be given him to carry him and all his people to England; 2d, That no one should be searched; 3rd, That such of the English as wished to go to Bonnavista might do so in all security. This capitulation was signed on the part of the French only by the Governor of Placentia, who did not even show d'Iberville the courtesy of presenting it to him. That officer was not insensible to this; but dissembled wisely as he had done on other and more important occasions.[1]

The English governor, after signing, re-entered his fort, and a moment after came forth with two hundred and fifty men, besides women and children. He had only one soldier wounded in a skirmish, when the French were recon-

[1] Canada Documents, II., viii., p. 53–6, De la Potherie, i., p. 31–7.

noitering the fort: but this whole garrison was made up of little more than wretched fishermen, who could scarcely fire a gun, and their commandant was merely a farmer chosen by the ship captains and holding no royal commission. The fort was quite good, but out of everything. The garrison had not supplies for twenty-four hours longer, nor a bit of wood to warm themselves; they had in fact but just thrown themselves into the fort when d'Iberville appeared in the town.[1] 1696. Condition of the place.

Still St. John is a very fine harbor, able to hold more than two hundred ships; its entrance is only a gun-shot wide, between two very high mountains, and was defended by a battery of eight pieces. At that time there were reckoned sixty, all well placed on the north side and houses extending half a league along the Grève. The fort just mentioned was only a cannon-shot from the entrance of the port. Position of St. John.

The two ships, that had not been able to come in time to relieve the place, on seeing it taken had no alternative but to return to England, as they did at once. On the 2d of December, Montigny was sent with twelve men to Portugalcoue[2] in Conception Bay, three leagues from St. John, to arrest a great number of fugitives, who were seeking refuge at Carbonniere, and he took thirty. Dougué de Boisbriand, a Canadian gentleman, took even more prisoners at a place called Kirividi,[3] three-quarters of a league from St. John, and in a few days the number exceeded a hundred.

Hitherto the two leaders had apparently acted in concert; but when they came to divide the booty their mutual animosity revived, and had well-nigh come to a violent rupture. This new fire having been smothered by prudent mediators, and by the moderation of d'Iberville, the Governor of Placentia proposed to keep St. John and put it under the command of Mr. de Muys. D'Iberville consented, but on condition that no Canadian should remain, St. John burned and abandoned.

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[1] Canada Documents, II viii., p. 57.

[2] Portugal Cove.

[3] Kividi in De la Potherie, i., p. 38.

1696. as he had not one too many, he said, for the expeditions he had in view.[1]

De Muys would not take the proffered command on that condition, and the resolution was adopted and at once carried out, to abandon the conquest after burning the forts and in general all the houses still standing. This done, de Brouillan and de Muys prepared to return to Placentia, and d'Iberville thought only of continuing the war with the gallant men who had devoted themselves to his fortunes.

Conquests of the Canadians in Newfoundland.

In this he spent two months, at the end of which the English had nothing left in Newfoundland except Bonnavista and Carbonniere Island.[2] The former of these two posts was too well fortified to be insulted by so small a body of men, marching over the snow and almost always over roads impracticable to any one but Canadians and Indians, men who could at most carry their guns and swords, with enough provisions to prevent their starving to death.

Carbonniere Island is inapproachable in winter, how ill soever it is defended, and more than three-hundred English had taken refuge there from other places captured from them. The sea is very rough there at all seasons, and the waves then formed a rampart, that a whole army with good artillery would never have carried. Had d'Iberville been free to begin his operations there, he would have found this island almost undefended, and much more easy of approach. During the rest of the campaign six or seven hundred prisoners were taken and sent to Placentia, whence most of them escaped, that fort not affording enough closed places to secure them.[3]

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[1] Canada Documents, II., viii., p. 63, De la Potherie, i., p. 36. De Muy, Captain in the army, served with distinction, and in 1707 was appointed Governor of Louisiana, but died on his way to that colony.

[2] For these operations, see De la Potherie, p. 39–42. Canada Doc., II., viii., p. 67.

[3] Montigni made an attack Jan. 30, but failed; De la Potherie, i., 44. This officer, La Marque de Montigny, was wounded at Schenectady, ante, vol. iv., p. 125, was sent to Acadia before 1695 With the Indians of Penaské he took an English fort in 1703: operated on Lake Champlain in 1710; was sent the same year to aid de Subercase, and soon after visited France with an Abénaqui chief.

In this campaign d'Iberville gave striking proofs of his ability, and was at every point where danger was to be met or hardship undergone; next to him came Montigny, generally in the van, and often leaving little to be done by those who followed him. After them, the most distinguished were Boucher de la Perriere, d'Amour de Plaine, Dugué de Boisbriand,[1] all three Canadian gentlemen, and Nescambiouit. There is no doubt, had there been force enough to complete this well-advanced conquest and guard the posts from which the English had been expelled, they would have lost the island of Newfoundland forever; but few men in France then saw how important it was to secure the total possession. 1696.

Faults of of the English and French in their colonies.

It must be admitted, that if the English have displayed, in establishing their colonies, an ability not seen in any other European nation, they generally take very little precaution to protect them against a surprise or effort on the part of their neighbors. So that had the French had as much perseverance and concerted their measures for preserving their conquests in the New World with judgment equal to the intrepidity and celerity displayed in effecting them, the Crown of England would not perhaps to-day possess an inch of ground on the continent of North America.

The greatest fault then committed by the English in their colonies, was the usually bad selection of those to whom they committed the command either of single posts or whole provinces. They were almost always men of fortune, ignorant of war, never even in service, whose sole merit was their accumulation of wealth by means that did not presuppose qualities necessary to uphold the rank to

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[1] As to d'Amour, see ante iii. p. 158, iv. p. 40 René Boucher de la Perriere was the eighth son of Pierre Boucher Sieur de Boucherville, author of the "Histoire Veritable," ante, vol. i., p. 80 and still revered as one of the patriarchs of early Canada. René became captain in 1726, and died in August, 1742. Daniel, i., p. 116. Dugué de Boisbriand was recommended for an ensigncy in the navy in 1695; major at Biloxi, 1699; at Mobile 1716: in Illinois in 1718–22, commanded the colony in Bienville's absence; died in 1736. Daniel, ii., 284–293.

1696. which they were raised, qualities which such men never acquire.

On the other hand, the English colonists intermingled with strangers from all nations, devoted themselves solely to the cultivation of the soil and their trade. This unfitted them for war, and hence the contempt of the Indians for them, a mere handful having long held in check the most populous and flourishing of their colonies. Their whole dependence lay in our levity, inconstancy, negligence, and the lack of concert among our commandants. Through these they became masters of so many important posts from which we drove them as often as we attacked them.

Why d'Iberville did not complete the conquest of Newfoundland.

To return to Newfoundland. All being reduced in that great island, except the two posts mentioned, d'Iberville returned to Placentia to prepare to complete his conquest, as he was unable to effect it without the reinforcement which he had solicited from France through Mr. de Bonaventure. He was long kept waiting, and the arrival of his

1697. brother, Mr. de Serigny, who anchored in that bay on the 18th of May, 1697, with a squadron and orders from court, compelled him to renounce that undertaking, to go and gather fresh laurels amid the ice of Hudson's Bay. But before relating what gave rise to that expedition and its success, historical order requires us to narrate what occurred with the Iroquois after the destruction of Onondaga.

Frontenac had expected that the Iroquois, who were rather stunned than subdued, would soon resume all their pride and reappear on our frontiers, if he stopped short at what he had done. This was accordingly not his idea; but his misfortune was that not one of the projects which he formed for completely humbling them, succeeded; and all the colonial affairs in regard to this war were soon in the very position that they were before he took the field with forces more than sufficient to crush the cantons utterly.

Towards the end of autumn, the Chevalier de Callieres received orders to raise a large party in his jurisdiction, and to send it over the ice against the Mohawks: but

want of provisions made it impossible for him to obey, the harvest having been very poor. He so informed the Governor General, who ordered him to send only fifty men towards the parts where the Iroquois usually gathered for the winter hunt. He instantly prepared to obey this order, and the detachment commanded was ready to march, when tidings came that changed their plans. 1697.

On the 11th of January an Indian of Sault St. Louis,[1] a native of Oneida, and sent to that canton to exhort the inhabitants to come and settle among us, arrived at Montreal. On being asked in what mood he left his countrymen, he replied, that sixty of them, divided into two parties, were coming, hunting by the way, to keep their promise made to the Governor General. He added that all the other Iroquois had gone hunting toward the country of the Andastes, and on this second report the force was disbanded.[2]

The French sustain some reverses.

Some individuals, however, took the field in the direction of New-York. One Dubos, commanding one of these parties, after a long and brave fight with some Mohegans and Mohawks, whom he handled severely, fell into an ambuscade near Albany. Ten out of sixteen, who composed the party, were killed on the spot, Dubos and three others wounded, taken, and conveyed to Albany; the remaining two were never seen again.[3] A second band, of seven or eight Frenchmen, met with not much better fortune. It fell in with some Indians of the Mountain, who, taking them for English, attacked them. Two were killed before the mistake was perceived, but Totathiron, the great chief of the Mountain, was also killed, and this was a great loss for the colony.[4]

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[1] Tatahŏissere, Relation, 1696–7, N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 665. Thathakouichere, De la Potherie, iii., p. 285.

[2] Relation &c. 1696–7, N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 665.

[3] Dubeau, N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 666: Dubau, de la Potherie, iii., p. 287. He died of his wounds at Albany. Fletcher to Shrewsbury, 9 Nov. 1696; Ib., iv., p. 233. His examination in N. Y. Col. Doc., iv., p. 241, gives his name Joseph de Boake. He left Montreal Sept. 24, with 21 French and one Indian. When near Kinderhook thirteen of them were attacked; he was wounded, and with two others surrendered to people of Schodac. A party pursued the rest and cut them off.

[4] Relation &c., 1696–7, N. Y. Col.

1697. At last, on the 5th of February, thirty-three Oneidas arrived at Montreal; come, they said, to keep the promise made to their Father to range themselves among his children; that all the others had directed them to assure him that they would have followed, had not the Mohawk and Onondaga, between whom they lay, retained them each by an arm: that they had not however changed their mind, and that if Ononthio would send some one to them, they would at once come to meet him: that for their own part, they were disposed to settle wherever he chose; that they only wished to preserve the name of Oneidas; that it would give them pleasure to have Father Milet assigned as their missionary, who loved them greatly, in spite of all they had made him suffer, and they begged him to aid them in preparing an abode.

Some Oneidas come to settle in the colony.

Their reception. What they said of the friendship entertained for them by Father Milet was not exaggerated. That missionary, with whom I lived several years, never spoke of the Oneidas except with esteem, and yet he had no obligation to them, except the occasion of great merits which they afforded him during his five years harsh bondage. Mr. de Callières received these new guests very well, and assured them that they should lack nothing. He then wrote to the Count de Frontenac to ascertain his intentions as to them, and received orders to send their chief back to Oneida to report to his countrymen the reception given them, and thus induce the rest to follow their example.[1]

The other cantons take umbrage. This negotiation and the course of the first Oneida party, gave great umbrage to the other cantons, and the Onondagas were very active in opposing it. The Mohawks, more impatient than the rest to know how matters stood in regard to the Oneidas, sent two of their canton to Quebec, under the pretext of restoring two ladies made captives the year before at Sorel.[2] From these two prisoners it

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Doc., ix., p. 666. De la Potherie, iii. p. 287, writes Tiorhathiarron.

[1] De la Potherie, iii., p. 285. N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 665.

[2] Mademoiselle Salvaye and her daughter. Ib. The term was then applied to married women under the rank of noble.

was ascertained that the Iroquois were beginning to recover from their panic; that the English had made the Onondagas presents to replace their losses and induce them to rebuild their village, and that the Onondagas in fact expected that spring to plant the very fields laid waste by the French. 1697.

The two Mohawks on their side very haughtily asked the Count de Frontenac whether the road from their canton to Quebec was free; and one of them said, that he positively expected the restoration of his son, held as a prisoner in the colony. The general answered, that the first Iroquois who had the insolence to speak so to him, should be punished on the spot, but that he would pardon them in consideration for the two captives, whom they had brought back, but that they must accustom themselves to lower their tone before him; that he would no longer hear a word from them, till they were perfectly submissive to his will, and restored all the French still prisoners in their hands.

Why Frontenac refuses to permit the Iroquois Christians to go to war

He moreover detained them all the rest of the winter, lest they might inform the cantons of the grounds where our allies were hunting, and meanwhile he dispatched fresh orders to Montreal to keep up harassing the enemy by small parties, so as to learn in season what was going on at New York and in the cantons.[1] On the 15th of May the Indians of Sault St. Louis and the Mountain offered their services to the Governor of Montreal, who, on notifying the Count de Frontenac, got answer, that neither the French nor the domiciliated Indians should go far, as he might soon have need of both.

Information sent him from the Court

What induced this language was the arrival meanwhile of the Sieur Vincelotte, Canadian, coming overland from Mount Desert near Pentagoet, whence Mr. de Gabaret had landed him. He handed Frontenac dispatches from Court giving him intelligence that forbade his stripping the colony of troops. The minister informed him that

[1] L. Van Schaick (N. Y. Col. Doc., iv., p. 168), shows that this system was so well kept up that many farms near Albany were abandoned.

1697. there were vessels in the English ports, ready to set sail at once, to join a squadron fitting out at Boston to attack Canada. He added that the King wished him to keep a thousand or twelve hundred men to carry out the orders he might receive from his Majesty, in case there was no fear for Quebec. We shall presently see what all this meant.[1]

The Iroquois renew hostilities.

The Iroquois, soon perceiving that the French had given up troubling them at home, took the field in all directions. This compelled the Governor of Montreal to multiply the parties which he sent against them, and he thus succeeded in baffling all their plans. Soon after, some prisoners brought in from the neighborhood of New York told him that it was rumored in that province, sometimes that they were equipping in Europe to proceed to besiege Quebec, sometimes that they were preparing in France to lay siege to Boston. At the same time assurance was received in the capital, that New England was in no condition to undertake anything: that the dearth of provisions was extreme there; that a misunderstanding existed among the heads of the colony, and that although they made some show of threatening Canada, they really were in great fear of the French and were busy fortifying.

The English take Fort Bourbon

But at the same time news came that Fort Bourbon had again the preceding autumn fallen into the hands of the English, and that Mr. de Serigny, who had been sent there with reinforcements of men, provisions and munitions, had been unable to reach it. In fact on the second of September, 1696, four English vessels with a bomb ketch appeared in sight of that fort, and had not been two hours at anchor in the roadstead when Messrs. de Serigny and de la Motte Egron also arrived on two ships, the former on the Dragon, belonging to the King, the other on the Hardi,[2] belonging to the Northern Company.[3]

The odds were too great to risk an action, and the French drew off. Serigny sailed back to France, which he

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[1] De la Potherie, iii., p. 286, writes Vincelot.

[2] N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 668.

[3] Jérémie, Relation de la Baye de Hudson, in Voyages au Nord, iii., p. 328. De la Potherie, i. p. 166–7.

reached safely; la Motte Egron was shipwrecked and was drowned on his way to Quebec. Fort Bourbon was no longer in a position to resist an English fleet, yet they put on at first quite a bold front. On the 5th the ketch supported by two ships kept up quite a warm fire. It continued the next day, and under cover of it the English wished to attempt a landing, but Sieur Jerémie, who served as an ensign in the fort, having formed an ambuscade with forty[1] fusiliers behind some bushes, poured such constant and well ordered volleys into the first boats that approached, as to compel them to draw off. 1697.

Then the ketch resumed shelling, and twenty-two bombs fell inside the fort. As there was only a single spot where the powder was safe, the Sieur de la Forêt, the commandant, had no alternative but to capitulate. He asked that he should be conducted with all his garrison to French soil, and that each man should carry off what belonged to him. These two articles were granted; but the English had no sooner entered the fort, than they laughed at the capitulation, pillaged the French and took them prisoners to England. They violate the capitulation.

They were however released four months after their arrival, and on reaching French soil, having ascertained that a squadron was fitting out at Rochelle to recapture Fort Bourbon, most of them hastened there, and finding in reality four vessels which were to be under de Serigny's orders as far as Placentia, where he was to hand over the command to his brother d'Iberville, they embarked. We have seen recently that his squadron reached Newfoundland on the 18th of May, when d'Iberville was preparing to complete the conquest of that island.

He would have much wished his brother had arrived sooner, or that he had been informed that he would arrive so late; the former would have given him all the time required to assure the success of the enterprise he had in

[1] He reached Mingan with 20 men. N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 668.

[2] Jérémie, Relation de la Baye de Hudson, p. 328–9.

1697. hand; and the latter would have enabled him to make an effort to atone for the delay by the gratification of not leaving an Englishman in Newfoundland, a thing he had much at heart. On the other hand it was evident that the court had reckoned on greater expedition or de Serigny's part; but as already observed, the fitting out of fleets in our ports is always delayed, often to the overthrow of all the plans of our officers.

This appeared from the instructions handed to d'Iberville by his brother. They directed that before proceeding to Hudson's Bay, he should visit St. John's River, to see whether Fort Naxoat needed reinforcement. It had become impossible to fulfill this, and in this view de Brouillan, to whom d'Iberville imparted his intructions, coincided; for not only was the season too far advanced to undertake two expeditions to points so far distant apart, but the crews of the ships from France were not in a condition to remain so long at sea.

Mr. D'Iberville sails to Hudson's Bay.

It was accordingly resolved to proceed direct to Fort Bourbon, and the squadron, composed of four ships[1] and a brigantine, set sail on the 8th of July. There was a third order of the court, much easier of execution than the second. This was to cruise some time off the bank of Newfoundland, and d'Iberville did not intend to neglect it; but he found in that part such dense fogs and winds so favorable for continuing his course, that he deemed it his duty not to swerve from it, and on the 28th he arrived at the mouth of Hudson's Strait.

He loses a vessel in the ice.

He passed it the third of August; but he then found himself so beset by ice that he was forced to grapple with the largest bergs. The danger of this situation, arose from the severe blows given to the ships by the ice, driven violently on by the currents, putting them in constant danger of perishing. On the 5th the brigantine was crushed between one of these floating shoals and the Palmier, Serigny's ship, and this so suddenly that the crew were with difficulty saved, all the rest being lost.

[1] The Pelican, 50, d'Iberville; the Palmier, 40, Serigny; the Profond, Dugué, and the Vespe, Chartrié. Jérémie, Relation &c. p. 329–330.

On the 28th d'Iberville in the Pelican, a fifty gun ship, found himself clear of the ice; but alone and ignorant of the fate of his other ships, which had been hidden by the ice since the 11th. He nevertheless supposed them ahead, as he had heard the firing of cannon the previous night, and sailing to Port Nelson, arrived in sight on the 4th of September. He anchored in the evening quite near Fort Bourbon, and sent his boat ashore with the Sieur de Martigny, his cousin german, to gain information as to the place and the English ships which he had perceived in Hudson's Strait.[1] 1697. He is separated from the rest

About six o'clock the next morning, he discovered three ships three leagues to leeward, tacking to enter the harbor. He made the signals arranged with de Serigny. As they did not reply he had no doubt of their hostile character, and prepared to attack them. To take such a resolution required a bold man indeed. He had scarcely a hundred men in fighting condition, and had to cope with three ships, one of superior force and the other two of 32 guns each. He engages three English ships.

Notwithstanding this disparity, he bore down on them with an intrepidity that disconcerted them. They awaited him; the cannonade opened about half past nine in the morning, and was kept up incessantly till one with great vigor on both sides. Meanwhile the Pelican had only one man killed and seventeen wounded. Then d'Iberville, who had kept the weather gage, bore down straight on the two frigates, pouring in several broadsides at close quarters, in order to disable them. At that moment he perceived the third, the Hamshier, coming on with 26 guns in battery on each side, and a crew of 230 men.

He at once proceeded to meet her, all his guns pointed to sink her, ran under her lee, yardarm to yardarm, and having brought his ship to, poured in his broadside. This was done so effectively that the Hamshier, after keeping on at about her own length, went down. D'Iberville at once wore and turned on the Hudson Bay, Success of this engagement.

[1] Canada Doc, III., viii., pp. 240–2. Jérémie, Relation &c. p. 30, says 5th.

1697. the ship of the remaining two that could most easily enter St. Teresa River ; but as he was on the point of boarding her, the commandant struck his flag and surrendered.

D'Iberville then gave chase to the Deringue, the third, which was escaping to the northeast, and which was only a good cannon-shot off; but as that vessel was as good a sailer as his own ship, he soon gave up the chase, not daring to crowd sail, having had much of his rigging cut, two pumps burst, his shrouds considerably injured, his hull cut up by seven cannon-balls and pierced at the water's edge, with no way of stopping the leak. He accordingly veered and sent the Sieur de la Sale in his boat with twenty-five men to man the prize. He then proceeded to repair damage, and having done so with great expedition, he renewed the chase of the only remaining enemy, who was now three leagues off.

He began to gain on him, when in the evening the wind changing to the north and a thick fog suddenly rising, he lost sight of the Deringue. This accident compelled him to rejoin the Hudson Bay, and he anchored near the Hamshier, now almost out of sight, and from which not a soul had been saved. He learned from his prisoners that they had been detained twenty-five days in the ice and had lost a fireship by the same accident that had destroyed the French brigantine; that they had then fallen in with a French storeship, which had fought them for six hours, and then proceeded to join two other ships of that nation in the ice.

Combat between three English ships and a French storeship

This storeship was the Profond, fitted out by d'Iberville at Placentia, carrying 26 guns and 120 men under command of Mr. Dugué. It had been separated from the Palmier and Wesp on the 25th of August, and a few days after found itself in the midst of three English ships, which riddled her with cannon-balls, but failed to board her or make her captain strike. Fortunately for him, after six hours action they perceived the Wesp and Palmier crowding sail to support him, and deemed it inexpedient to await them. The Profond was completely disabled; the other

two ships had suffered greatly in the ice; nevertheless they repaired expeditiously and gave chase to the English, who were flying before them, and who escaped them only to be beaten by the Pelican alone, in the manner already stated. 1697.

Shipwreck of d'Iberville.

Nothing now preventing his approach to Fort Bourbon, d'Iberville on the morning of the 6th weighed anchor and stood in to the roadstead, where his boat, which had remained ashore since he had sent it to get information, brought him some Indians, who told him that there were only thirty-five men in the fort.

On hearing this he put a mortar and fifty bombs on the Hudson Bay to begin the attack while awaiting his three other vessels. The next day, seeing the sea run extremely high, a sure sign in the Bay of a coming storm, he left the roadstead, which is not secure, and anchored off shore. His precaution was vain; the wind, after falling slightly, became more violent than before, the cables of his anchors parted, and in spite of all d'Iberville's efforts to ride it out, and there was not perhaps in the French navy one more skillful in handling a ship, he was driven ashore with his prize at the mouth of the St. Teresa.

He is joined by his three ships.

This misfortune happened at night, the darkness increasing the horror caused by the storm, and prevented them taking measures to save the vessels by running them ashore in a suitable spot, so that before daybreak they opened and filled with water. However, a calm setting in the crew got ashore safe, carrying all needed to besiege Fort Bourbon; but he had no provisions and could look for none except by taking the fort. D'Iberville accordingly hastened all the preparations for storming it. They had scarcely begun their labors when his three vessels hove in sight and soon after anchored in the roadstead.[1]

They had weathered the storm that wrecked the Pelican and Hudson Bay: but they were much further out, or rather it drove them out, and ceased before they got near

[1] Canada Documents III. viii., pp. 242–8; Jérémie, Relation de la Baye de Hudson, pp. 330–1. The latter says 23 men lost.

1697. shore. The Palmier lost her rudder, and when she came in sight of the fort, had two leaks that kept her pumps constantly at work. Their arrival assured to d'Iberville the capture of the fort and gave him provisions: he accordingly abandoned the plan of storming, as no longer necessary and likely to cost many lives.

The next day, December 10th, he landed half a league from the fort with a boat loaded with mortars and shells, at the spot where the Pelican's crew were already encamped. He at once threw up batteries, and on the 12th began to throw shells. Henry Bailay, the commandant of the fort, apparently but awaited this to surrender. The next day he beat a parley and agreed to surrender the fort on the following terms: 1. That his papers, and his account books which belonged to the London Company, should not be touched: 2. That officers and men should retain their chests, clothes and property in general: 3. That they should be treated like the French: 4. That they should be at once sent to England: 5. That the garrison should march out with all marks of honor, and not be disarmed.[1]

As soon as this capitulation was signed, the commandant marched out with fifty-two men, seventeen of whom belonged to the crew of the Hudson Bay: for it may be judged that in the confusion of the wreck of that vessel and the Pelican, the French were more engaged in saving their own lives than in guarding their prisoners, so that they retained only those who were afraid to face the danger of making their way in an unknown country, during a very dark night. Those who escaped were included in the capitulation, and thus recovered their liberty.

D'Iberville having taken possession of his conquest, appointed the Sieur de Martigny commandant, and Mr. de Boisbriand, brother of Mr. Dugué, King's lieutenant. As the Palmier was utterly unfit to go to sea, she was run up the river and anchored near the fort. Serigny, who remained to take her back to France in case she could be repaired, kept only fifty men, and d'Iberville embarked on

[1] Canada Documents, III. viii., p 249. Jerémie, Relation &c., p. 332.

the Profond with the Pelican's crew and forty-four prisoners, whom he still retained. He sailed on the 24th of September with the Wesp,[1] and on the 8th of November arrived at Belle-Isle, with scarcely a man on either ship not sick with the scurvy. 1697. D'Iberville returns to France.

But the capture of Fort Bourbon, although it long assured to the French the possession of all the north of Canada, did not repay the King the expense incurred that year for North America, as will be shown in the following book. Still the Hudson's Bay trade was a far more important matter than most people supposed; and its consequence was not realized till men saw the eagerness displayed by the English plenipotentiaries in the Congress of Utrecht, to secure for their nation all the posts on that bay. It is a certainty, that the furs there are finer than anywhere else, and the extreme poverty of the Indians of those parts enables traders to obtain them at very low rates. Importance of this conquest.

[1] A rudder for the Palmier had to be sent from France. Ib.

[2] Canada Documents, III. viii., p. 250–3. De la Potherie, Hist. de l'Amérique Sept., i., p. 167, gives no details of this campaign. Jérémie, author of the Relation de la Baye de Hudson, was taken in the fort in 1696, returned with d'Iberville in 1697, and remained there as interpreter and lieutenant under several commanders till 1707, when he went to Europe. He returned in 1709 as commandant and held that post till 1714 when he transferred the fort to the English agreeably to the treaty of Utrecht. Relation de la Baye de Hudson, p. 334.

BOOK XVII.

BOOK XVII.

THE rumors continually afloat, that fleets were fitting out in France, England, and Boston, puzzled the Count de Frontenac, while the King's orders to hold his troops and militia ready to march on an expedition which was always made a mystery, kept him in suspense in one of the most embarrassing junctures that he ever was in, when the Oneida chief whom Mr. de Callieres had sent back to his canton, came into Montreal alone, which in itself was a bad enough omen. 1697.

The Iroquois seek to amuse Frontenac.

He nevertheless came forward with an air of confidence, which would have deceived any one but the Governor. He told him that having informed his brethren of the manner in which he and his party had been received by the French, all had evinced a decided disposition to follow his example; that the Onondagas had even avowed their readiness to accompany them; that they were going to begin by sending a belt to Ononthio to ascertain from him whether he wished to receive them also, and another to implore the Jesuits to ask peace for them from the God of the Christians, and that they conjured the Oneidas to wait for them.

It was easy to see that all this was a device to gain time, and avert the storm which they dreaded to see bursting anew on the cantons, in the hope that it would soon be

1697. entirely dispersed. Least of all was the Count de Frontenac deceived, but he had only two courses to pursue; one, to proceed with all his forces to the Iroquois country; the other to dissemble. By the King's orders the former was out of the question; he had therefore to resolve to shut his eyes to the conduct of these Indians, or at least but half reveal the resentment their conduct inspired. The General's reply to the Oneida chief was that he gave those who deputed him till the month of September to determine to come all together and ask peace; and that term passed, they should find in him only an implacable enemy.

They renew hostilities.

He counted little more on the effect of these threats, than on the promises of the Iroquois; but to all appearance he did not expect to see them begin their raids within a few days. Then he felt the utter folly of conciliatory measures with a nation whom he had pushed too hard ever to win over, and whom he had not weakened sufficiently to prevent their doing us great injury; but he had another cause of disquiet, which touched his most sensitive spot, as it involved the diminution of his authority. The occasion was this.

Troubles among our allies.

Quite a number of Miamis settled on Maramek River,[1] one of the streams emptying into the eastern part of Lake Michigan, had started late in August of the previous year, to unite once more with their brethren settled on the St. Joseph's River. On their way they were attacked by the Sioux, who killed several. The Miamis of St. Joseph learning this hostility, resolved to avenge their brethren. They pursued the Sioux to their own country, and found them intrenched in a fort with some Frenchmen of the class known as Coureurs de Bois, (bushlopers). They nevertheless attacked them repeatedly with great resolution; but were every time repulsed, and at last compelled to retire, after losing several of their braves. On their way home, meeting other Frenchmen carrying arms and ammunition to the Sioux, they seized all they had, but did them no other harm. They informed the Ottawas of

[1] On Charlevoix's map of Louisiana it is Maramet.

what had occurred, and the latter sent deputies to Count de Frontenac, to explain to him the absolute necessity of appeasing the Miamis, whose discontent might easily induce them to join the Iroquois. 1697.

The general's reply to the envoys was such as became so delicate a crisis: and he took proper steps to prevent the consequences of this unlucky affair. They did not however at once prevent the Miamis from continuing reprisals, when occasion offered; so that Nicholas Perrot, with all his credit among them, was on the point of being burned, and escaped their fury only by means of the Foxes, (Outagamis,) who rescued him from their hands. At last the secret of calming them was discovered by showing them how much it was for their interest, as well as ours, not to quarrel with us, and at that time the matter went no further.[1]

Frontenac's embarrassment.

This event could not have happened at a more provoking moment for the Count de Frontenac. For the last two years the old complaints had been renewed against bushranging, and the last representations of all persons in the colony zealous for the cause of order, had produced their effect. The preceding year the King had expressly forbidden the Governor-General to permit any Frenchmen to go up to the Indian country to trade.

In fact de Champigny and de Callieres, whose testimony on the point was above suspicion, were of opinion that his Majesty should be petitioned to restrict this prohibition, and they adduced reasons which could not be more solid. They had suggested a middle course, which in their opinion would remedy the whole, and this consisted in maintaining among the remote Indians only two posts, at Michillimakinac and on St. Joseph's River, to limit the number of French allowed to go there, and adopt other precautions which they suggested, to prevent the abuses so justly complained of.[2]

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[1] Relation, 1696–7. N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., pp. 670–6. De la Potherie Hist. de l'Amérique, Septentrionale iii., pp. 295–310. Perrot, Mœurs et Coutumes, pp. 267, 312, 331.

[2] N. Y. C. Doc., ix., p. 663, 673, 678.

1697. The Count de Frontenac was far from approving this modification, which diminished his authority, and as he saw that a literal obedience of the ordinance in question would entail difficulties that would compel the King's Council to restore matters to their former state, he had informed the minister that to conform to his Majesty's intentions, he was about to recall all the French from the remote posts; but the unfortunate affair of the Miamis, caused by the bushlopers, made him afraid that they would not approve even of the propositions of the Intendant and Governor of Montreal, and that those who had excited the Prince's zeal in regard to bushloping, would profit by this new incident to press the absolute execution of the last orders of the court, as they did in fact.

How he extricates himself.

The Governor-General accordingly began to see more wisdom in the modifications proposed by de Champigny and de Callieres, because they left him part of the authority which he saw on the point of slipping entirely from his hands; he therefore united with them in representing to the Council: 1. That it was indispensably necessary not to interfere with the posts at Michillimakinac and on St. Joseph's River, and that an officer with twelve or fifteen soldiers must absolutely be maintained in each, to prevent the English going there to trade, which they would not do long, without planting themselves there so firmly as not to be easily expelled: 2. That it was impossible to maintain these same posts, unless at least twenty-five canoe-loads of goods were sent there annually. These were called *congés*, and the Governor had the distribution of them. 3. That it was important to send soldiers from time to time among the Indians for the security of the missionaries. 4. That these congés were a resource to relieve the indigence of several worthy families to whom they were assigned, and who traded them with the voyageurs; and that if this aid were cut off, their subsistence would have to be provided for otherwise. Finally, that these excursions tended to keep in the country a number of young men who knew no other business, and who, deprived of this, would go

to the English colonies in search of employment, strengthening those colonies and weakening ours.[1] 1697.

Some of these reasons were extremely weak, the others proved clearly, that there are evils which it is dangerous to attempt to remedy at once. The authors of this memoir agreed with those who had presented the opposing ones as to all the disorders produced by the *congés*, and that the greatest of these disorders was the stop they had put to the progress of the Christian religion among the Indians: but all things considered, it was decided in the King's Council, that, to abandon posts, after establishing and maintaining them at such great expense, and inducing our allies to consider them as an advantage to them, would be to hold out to those tribes a temptation to give themselves up to the English.

They were confirmed in this idea by the information received that the Baron, that famous Huron chief whose pernicious designs and hostile mind have been already explained, had gone to settle near Albany with thirty families of his nation, and warmly urged the rest to follow him. It was accordingly resolved to adhere to the plan suggested by de Champigny and de Callieres, and as predicted by the ecclesiastics and missionaries, things quite speedily resumed the course they had previously taken. For with passions, as with gangrene, there is no cure but by mercilessly cutting away all that is infected.

Our allies come to the assistance of the colony.

Towards the end of August[2] the Sieur de la Motte Cadillac, whom Mr. de Callieres had informed of the rumors of armaments fitting out for the conquest of Canada, arrived at Montreal with a great number of Frenchmen, and three hundred Sacs, Pottowatamies, Ottawas and Hurons, whom he had succeeded in inducing to come to the aid of the colony. The Governor-General was then in that city, and in the audience which he gave these warriors, he manifested great satisfaction at their zeal, and especially at the ardor with which they had followed the Iroquois

[1] Pontchartrain to Frontenac, Apr. 28, 1697. N. Y. Col. Doc. ix. p. 662.

[2] Aug. 29, N. Y. Col. Doc. ix. p. 671.

[3] Ib.

1697. during the whole campaign. In fact they reckoned the Senecas killed or taken by them since spring at over a hundred.

Exploit of a Huron chief.

A very vigorous and well conducted action had just come off, in which the Indians of these four nations had taken part. The Iroquois having taken the field to join the Baron, as agreed upon with him, four of their scouts fell in with the Rat, the famous Huron chief, heretofore frequently mentioned. He was at the head of a hundred and fifty warriors and had landed at the head of the lake. Of the four Iroquois who discovered him, two were killed on the spot, and the other two were taken. From them he learned that their people were not far off, that they numbered two hundred and fifty; but had canoes only for sixty at most.

On this intelligence, the Rat advanced with his whole force towards the spot where he had been told the enemy were encamped; when he came within gun-shot, he feigned to be surprised and alarmed at their number, and pretended flight. At once sixty Iroquois sprang to their canoes to give chase; the Rat pushed out from land, and plied his paddles till he was two leagues from shore. There he stopped and drew up, received without firing the first Iroquois volley, which killed only two of his men, then, without giving them time to reload, he dashed on them so furiously that all their canoes were riddled or stove in. Thirty-seven were killed,[1] fourteen taken, the rest drowned. Among them were five of the highest chiefs in the nation.

The Rat was then sincerely attached to the French cause, and it was he alone who had prevented all the Hurons of Michilimackinac from following the Baron to New York. At the same time he rendered a great service to the Miamis, by putting them on their guard against the Baron, for he had discovered that that traitor, under pretence of forming an alliance with those Indians, thought only of betraying them. He came to Montreal with de la Motte Cadillac, and obtained the highest place in the Governor-General's favor; but Indians do not live on smoke,

and these had not come to Montreal to receive compliments, nor even solely to make war on the English. 1697.

Frontenac, who knew them and knew almost all that they had on their minds, told them that those who had any cause of complaint, might speak to him with perfect liberty, and that he would give them all the satisfaction they desired; but he added that they should beware of mutually weakening each other, and it was for their interest to continue pressing the Iroquois closely, as he on his side was determined not to spare them.

Complaints of the Indians.

Then Onanguicé the Pottowatamie chief, a talented man and good speaker, addressed him in the name of all, saying that men generally promised much more than they apparently intended to do; that they had been frequently assured that they should not be allowed to want ammunition, but that none had been furnished for more than a year; that the English did not act so with the Iroquois, and that if the French continued to abandon them in that style, they would no more appear at Montreal.[1]

Frontenac's reply.

The General, in reply, admitted that this year their usual annual supply had not been furnished, but assured them that they should lose nothing; that he had needed all his forces for a great war movement, which he could not yet explain to them, and that as soon as he had a certain number of French at his disposal, it would be his most urgent care to send them all they needed. This reply seemed to satisfy them, and they parted much pleased with each other.

All anxiety in regard to the English expeditions against Canada, seemed already dispelled, in as much as Frontenac dismissed the Indians without alluding to it.

He was even completely taken up with the enterprise for which he had been told to hold his troops in readiness, and which was still a mystery to him, when, on the 7th of September, Mr. des Ursins anchored before Quebec.[2]

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[1] N. Y. Col. Doc., 672–3; De la Potherie, iii., Histoire de l'Amérique Septentrionale, p. 299–304.

[2] He came with the Amphitrite, and Gironde. N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 675.

1697. That officer handed him a letter from the Marquis de Nesmond, informing him that it concerned the conquest of New England, a project of de Pontchartrain, but that the thing had failed. In a letter to the Minister, dated the 15th of October, Frontenac informed him that his preparations were so well advanced, that within a week after receiving the orders he expected, he could have put his troops in motion.

The enterprise for which he was ordered to be in readiness.

His advice as to the project.

He adds that such expeditions are always very uncertain, and require for their execution, far more time than is supposed; that no positive calculation should ever be made positively on the junction of forces, some of which were to come by sea and others by land, and by rivers so difficult to ascend and descend as those of Canada, and that the difficulty of transporting in canoes the provisions required by a large force are almost insurmountable. Coming then to that in question, he continues:

"I will also take the liberty of telling you that the capture of New York (Manhatte) would contribute much more to the security of this colony, and deliver it from the Iroquois more than the capture of Boston, which in no way annoys it: that moreover the former would be much more easily effected simply by his Majesty's vessels and the troops they could land, while the Canadian forces, to effect a diversion, attacked Albany (Orange), which is at their doors; but even then timely notice would be necessary so as to have time for preparation, beyond what was deemed actually necessary, the seasons being so short in this country, that it is idle to talk of undertaking anything at distant points, without having at least the whole month of September to return in, because the smaller rivers and lakes freeze in October."[1]

However, the operations against Boston were very well concerted, and like all those of the same kind that preceded, failed only from want of due diligence. To conduct it, the King had appointed the Marquis de Nesmond, an officer of high repute, and had assigned him ten men-of-war, one

[1] Cana da Documents, II., viii., 185.

galliot, and two fireships. The capture of Boston was not his sole object. His instructions were, to press matters so as to leave the port of Brest (where part of his squadron was fitted out) by the 25th of April, at the latest, and to proceed to Rochelle, where he was to meet Commodore de Magnon, with the vessels fitted out at Rochefort. 1697.

He was then directed to use all expedition to reach Placentia Bay at the earliest moment, and anticipate the English, who were said to be bent on recovering all they had lost in Newfoundland the year before, and even in expelling the French completely. In case he found the enemy besieging Placentia, he was to attack them, and in case they had already sailed he was to follow them, whether they had succeeded or not, and fight them. After defeating them, he was to sail to Pentagoët, and at the same time dispatch a ship to Quebec to inform the Count de Frontenac of his course, so as to enable that Governor to proceed to Pentagoët, with the 1500 men whom he was to hold in readiness. This junction effected, the fleet, after taking the troops on board, was to proceed to Boston without loss of time, and, after capturing that city, follow the coast to Pescadoué, destroying all the settlements as far inland as possible, so that the English could not for a long time restore them.

The Count de Frontenac's advanced age having led the King to doubt whether he would be able to command the regulars and militia on this expedition in person, his Majesty had left him on this point at perfect liberty, either to take the field in person or to substitute the Chevalier de Vandreuil in his stead, who in that event was to be in all matters subordinate to the Marquis de Nesmond, while the Count de Frontenac, if he came, was to command the land forces independently.

If, after taking Boston and ravaging New England, there was still time for another conquest, the fleet had orders to go to Manhatte, and after reducing that city to the King's obedience, leave the Canadian troops there, who on their homeward march to their colony could ravage New York.

1997. Such were the instructions given to de Nesmond and sent to Frontenac for an expedition in which the King was so interested, that he permitted the former to increase his fleet with the vessels intended for Hudson Bay in case he found them at Placentia and deemed their aid necessary.

As no intelligence of the siege of Naxoat had reached court when these instructions were drawn up, but arrived soon after, de Nesmond, on anchoring in the harbor of Rochelle, found later orders there, to give the Chevalier de Villebon all the aid in men and munitions necessary to hold or restore that post, and as soon as he anchored in the Bay of Placentia, a letter was handed to him from the Count de Pontchartrain, in which that minister informed him that eighteen English ships loaded with salt were to clear at once from Portugal, and to sail, escorted by a man-of-war, to Newfoundland for the codfishery, and that he was to do his best not to miss them.

What defeated the enterprise.

He also added, that if Nesmond succeeded in defeating the enemy's fleet, it was the King's intention that he should cruise along the eastern shore of Newfoundland, to take or burn all the English vessels he might find there; but de Nesmond had sailed too late to execute so many and so important enterprises. Moreover head-winds kept him more than two months at sea, so that he did not reach Placentia till July 24th.

There, learning nothing of the English, he held a grand council of war, to deliberate whether it was advisable to proceed at once to Boston; all voted against it, on the ground that it was imprudent to take any step without having information as to the enemy's operations, and that no matter what expedition was used to inform the Count de Frontenac, the Canadian troops could not reach Pentagoët before the 10th of September; by which time the fleet, which had provisions for only fifty days, would be in no condition to undertake anything.

These arguments were unanswerable, and de Nesmond yielded to them, deeply chagrined to see a conquest slip from his hands, after its success had at first seemed to

him beyond possibility of failure. He immediately dispatched Mr. des Ursins to Quebec with all the vessels intended for Canada, and which had come to Placentia under his escort;[1] but he expressly enjoined him to return with all expedition to inform him, in case he fell in with the English fleet in the river or Gulf of St. Lawrence. 1697.

De Nesmond's course.

He then proceeded to Great Burin Bay, twenty-two leagues west of Placentia, to receive the report of some ships he had sent out to reconnoitre, and to be on the spot for des Ursins, whom he had notified to meet him there. The reason of this step was, that if he had been surprised by an English fleet in Placentia Bay, he would have been obliged to enter the port, while at Great Burin he would have the weather gage and could bear down on them.

Early in August he learned from prisoners that the English were fortifying at St. John, whereupon he called another council of war, which decided unanimously that the fleet should sail there before the fortifications were completed. Yet it was far less any desire of taking St. John, that led to this resolution, than the hope of finding there a large number of ships which would prove an easy capture, for the same prisoners just mentioned, had assured him that they had left thirty-four vessels there, several of them ships of war.

Some of these, to the number of twenty-three, had sailed from Plymouth on the 14th of April under the command of Admiral Noris, and had reached St. John on the 17th of June. The others had brought from Ireland a thousand regulars commanded by Colonel Guipson. The fleet accordingly sailed for the eastern shore of Newfoundland, but found no ships there, and as the season was too far advanced to remain any longer in those seas, the Marquis of Nesmond was compelled, to his great regret, to return to France, without having had an opportunity to fire a single cannon, after having been flattered with the hope of effecting one of the most glorious campaigns of the whole war.[2]

[1] Two vessels were, however, captured. N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 675–6.

[2] Neville brought 1500 men under Sir John Gibson. Brit. Empire, p. 143.

1697. New France this year beheld another project formed, less glorious indeed, but one that would perhaps have proved no less useful, and have been crowned with success, had the projector been supported as he deserved. For some time back several merchants had been associated to establish sedentary fisheries in Canada; but they had been unable to agree on a safe and convenient place for such an undertaking. The originator of this association was the Sieur Riverin, already spoken of: he was an intelligent, active, enterprising man, not disheartened by obstacles. At last, after many difficulties, he succeeded in inducing them to adopt the haven of Mont Louis, situated on the southern bank of the St. Lawrence, amid the mountains of Notre Dame, and about half way between Quebec and the sea.[1]

Project of a sedentary fishery on the St. Lawrence.

Description of Mont Louis. This haven is the mouth of a pretty river; the anchorage is very good, and ships at anchor are exposed only to the north wind, which very seldom blows in summer. The river can be entered by vessels of a hundred tons. There they are sheltered from all winds and weather, and from the enemy, as it can only be entered at high tide, there being but two feet of water at low tide, although inside in the river they can always float. The entrance is moreover easily defended, having inaccessible mountains on one side, and on the other a tongue of land, which forms a peninsula, a gun-shot in width at the most, and on which a fort can be erected.

Its utility. This same tongue of land is also well adapted for drying fish, which, as elsewhere noticed, are very abundant on this bank, from Cape des Rosiers, at the entrance of the river, to Matane River, that is to say, a space more than eighty leagues. Whales may be taken even fifteen leagues higher. As for the soil of Mont Louis, it is adapted for raising wheat and all other kinds of grain, and very good pasturage is found there.

All ships ascending to Quebec, pass in sight of Mont

[1] Ante, vol. iv. p. 13.

1697.

Louis, and it is amazing that no one has yet observed the advantage to be derived from this post, by settling it, so as to assist vessels that might be in distress, or need water and provisions, in so long and dangerous a navigation as that of the St. Lawrence.[1] Besides this, at the time now treated of, a slate bed had been discovered there, but it is only within a few years that men have opened their eyes to the use of an article that makes fires less frequent and terrible than they have hitherto been in New France.

There is also much saltpetre at that place, and an Indian one day brought to Sieur Riverin a piece of very pure copper, which he assured him he had found in a ravine between two mountains. To conclude, some individuals having chanced to visit this haven to fish, had a most abundant take, although they lacked many things necessary for the work, and it was on their report that Riverin's associates consented to form their establishment there.

What defeated the project

Everything was in the best possible train; several settlers had already started for the place by sloop, and a ship loaded with salt and all kind of stores was in the harbor of Quebec, waiting only for a proper wind to hoist anchor, when, toward the end of May, the Count de Frontenac received, as already mentioned, orders to be on his guard against the English, and not permit any vessel to descend the river. They had to obey, and this annoying disappointment entirely disgusted Riverin's associates. He did not lose heart, however; he succeeded in encouraging the small body of settlers already at Mont Louis, and the following year the fishery and crops were so abundant, that all picked up courage. We shall see in due time what prevented the result from corresponding to so happy a commencement.[2]

Meanwhile, a good part of the regulars and militia had been under arms, from the beginning of the pleasant season to the end of autumn; at first in readiness to receive

[1] For its present state, see Ferland, Cotes de la Gaspésie, in the Soirées Canadiennes, 1861, p. 328.

[2] N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 585 note, De Callieres to the Minister, Oct. 16, 1700. See Charlevoix, Journal, p. 63.

1697. the enemy who were expected, then to execute the orders from the Court, whatever they might be; but if these preparations served neither to repulse the English again from before Quebec, nor to make conquests from them, they at least kept the Iroquois in awe, and gave the colonists a tranquillity of which they had almost lost the very recollection.

Effect of Frontenac's great preparations.

It only remained to humble those savages in a manner to incapacitate them entirely and forever from troubling the colony; which seemed easy with the forces then on foot, but before adopting a final resolution on this point, the Count de Frontenac wished to see the result of the propositions which he had made in the month of November to the four upper cantons. These cantons had sent him deputies to solicit peace, and after declaring the conditions on which he would grant it, he had given them till the month of June in the following year to come to a decision, obliging them meanwhile to leave him hostages.

He raises a force and disbands it.

He then projected sending five hundred men against the Mohawks, who alone had taken no steps to effect a reconciliation with him; but when all was ready for this expedition he changed his mind, under the pretext that the snow was not good enough to march over in snow-shoes.[1] Perhaps he only intended to alarm the Mohawks, who were, he knew, in no condition to resist him, and whom he did not believe so imprudent as to risk seeing their towns ruined; yet they did not show any great concern, which mortified him greatly. Moreover, the Christian Iroquois,

[1] Captain de Louvigny was to command. New York Colonial Doc., ix., p. 680; De la Potherie, Histoire de l'Amérique Septentrionale, iv., p. 88. See ante vol. iv., pp. 137, 252. Perrot, p. 146, 153; N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 939. The heavy snows and the impossibility of assembling men in season, compelled Frontenac to postpone the expedition; Schuyler's arrival (post 80) made him abandon it. Although operations still continued on both sides, exchanges of prisoners were made. Thus in 1695 Matthew Cary, sent by Lieutenant-Governor Stoughton, came to Tadoussac in a brigantine, and thence by boat to Quebec, where he effected an exchange. New York Colonial Documents, ix., p. 630–1. Papers connected with the exchange are to be published by W. B. Trask, Esq. The Indian exchanges were made independently.

who had been prevented from going on their hunting expeditions by these preparations, and had doubtless counted on being made good at the expense of the Mohawks, demanded from him supplies for their support, and he had to satisfy them. 1697.

He had received by the last vessels a new ordinance from the King, which annoyed him still more than the Iroquois matters: it forbade all officers and soldiers, detached to distant posts, from carrying on any traffic, under penalty of being broken and degraded to the ranks if officers, and of the galleys, if soldiers. The same penalty was prescribed for voyageurs, of whom his Majesty wished none to be tolerated, enjoining on commandants to arrest all who should be found, and send them to the colony for trial. New royal ordinance against bushlopers.

Frontenac however did not yield, and more than ever convinced of the risk of executing these new orders, from the murmurs and movements excited at the first announcement made of them, he thought himself justified in remonstrating with the Council. His representations were unavailing, and Mr. de Pontchartrain, by letter of the 21st of March in the year following, thus replied: Frontenac remonstrates.

"His Majesty is very well pleased with the activity of all your preparations to join the Marquis de Nesmond, had time allowed him to carry out the orders he had received. I have attentively perused what you wrote as to the suppression of the conges; you will please let me tell you, that you give a little too much credit to men, who, from motives of avarice, advocate trading in the woods. If you had considered the evil results it has produced, you would have condemned more severely so evil a practice.

"They have endeavored to make you fear that our Indian allies would join the Iroquois and make war on us, if we stopped going to trade with them in the woods. I confess I do not clearly see the reason for this, and it seems to me that we should expect just the reverse, provided pains are taken to explain to the Indians, that his Majesty's intention in making this prohibition, is to enable them to

1697. get goods from the French at first hand, to permit them to sell theirs at perfect liberty, and secure them the profit of the trade with Indians lying beyond them.

Pontchartrain's reply. "You are too familiar with the History of Canada, not to know that the war, that we have for so many years sustained against the Iroquois with so much cost and care, arose solely from the fact that the late Mr. de la Barre had wished to carry on trade with more remote nations. Those Indians, who are now allied to the English, would not be long in turning against them, if the English wished to pass through their country to go and trade directly with other Indians." [1]

This letter had no effect, beyond the publication of the King's last ordinance, which the Count de Frontenac at once promulgated;[2] but the preservation of the advanced posts, which the King had authorized on the representations of the Intendant and the Governor of Montreal, soon restored to power the congés, and the trade the Minister sought to abolish.

To return to the Iroquois. What contributed most to keep alive Frontenac's hopes of a speedy and durable peace with that nation, was the fact that they and the English had been pretty roughly handled by our allies during the preceding campaign. The Abénaquis had terminated it by a stroke of great vigor, having carried, tomahawk in hand, a fort only six leagues from the capital of New England, the entire garrison being taken or killed.[3] Almost at the same time twenty Iroquois, who had gone to surprise the Ottawas, were discovered and entirely defeated by the Hurons.[4]

But what completed the consternation of these haughty foemen, was the check they received near Catarocouy.

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[1] Pontchartrain to Frontenac, May 21, N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 678.

[2] They are not in the recently collected Edits et Ordonnances.

[3] Apparently Lancaster, where 20 or 30 were killed in Sept., 1697. Hutchinson's Hist. Mass., ii., p. 100. Murdoch, Hist. Nova Scotia, i., pp. 234–7, give other operations in Maine.

[4] This seems to be the Rat's victory already noted, ante p. 68.

Black Kettle, the Onondaga chief, already frequently mentioned, and the most renowned Iroquois captain at the time in his nation, approached that fort with about forty warriors, under pretence of hunting, and the better to mask his design, sent to inform Mr. de la Gemeraye, the commandant of the fort, that the sachems of the four upper cantons were about to start forthwith for Quebec to conclude peace. He spoke truly, the deputies being those recently mentioned. 1697.

Exploit of thirty young Algonquins

But as he was known to be a personal enemy of the French, and moreover as his envoys, either of their own head or by his orders, had the imprudence to add, that during this negotiation the young Iroquois braves were going to attack the Ottawas, to avenge the great losses inflicted on the Iroquois within the last year, no doubt was entertained but that he had some hostile design. De la Gemeraye would not, however, take it upon himself to attack him, at a time when he knew that his general was really negotiating with the cantons; he merely held himself on his guard and informed the Count de Frontenac of what had occurred.

He received a reply not to undertake anything against the Iroquois; but to endeavor quietly to seize some of the leading men of Black Kettle's party and send them to him. His letter came too late. While the Iroquois were hunting with great confidence back of Catarocouy, thirty-four Algonquins, the oldest, we are assured, not twenty years of age, surprised them near a place called Quinté, killed half of them, including their chief himself; took his wife and some others prisoners, and this brilliant victory cost them only six of their men.

Death of Oureouharé.

Oureouharé arrived at Quebec nearly at the same time as this intelligence: he assured Frontenac that his canton, Cayuga, was sincerely disposed to peace; he was believed, for all were convinced that he would not have said so, had it not been the case. A few days after, he was taken down with a pleurisy, which carried him off quite suddenly. He died as a sincere Christian, and was buried with the same honor usually shown to captains in the army.

1697. It is said that when the missionary who attended him during his illness, was speaking one day of the opprobrium and ignominy of the Passion of the Saviour of Men, the chief was filled with such a feeling of indignation against the Jews, that he cried out: "Why was I not there? I would have prevented them from so treating my God." This Indian must really have had something very amiable in his disposition, for I find in several authorities, that whenever he appeared either at Quebec or Montreal, the people never failed to evince their friendship.[1] Count de Frontenac regretted him all the more, from his constant reliance on his influence to conclude the settlement with the Iroquois which he so earnestly desired, and never lost hope of effecting.[2]

His eulogy.

First intelligence of peace received in Canada.

In the month of February four Englishmen[3] arrived from Orange (Albany) at Montreal, apparently to negotiate an exchange of prisoners, and from them was received the first intelligence of a peace among the European powers.[4] This

1698 was confirmed in the month of May by the arrival of Colonel Schuiller, Major of Orange, (Albany,) and Dellius the minister, who brought back nineteen French prisoners.[5] They also handed to the Count de Frontenac a letter from the Chevalier de Bellomont, Governor-General of New England, dated at New York (Manhatte), April 22d, of which the following is a translation, as Mr. de Pontchartrain received it on the return of the vessels.

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[1] Relation &c., 1697–8. N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 681. De la Potherie, iv., p. 89–91.

[2] Among the events of 1697 may be added the foundation of the Ursuline Convent, Academy and Hospital at Three Rivers. Five nuns left the Quebec convent, Oct. 8., 1697. Juchereau, Histoire de l'Hotel Dieu, p. 374. Les Ursulines de Quebec, i., pp. 503–507. Mother Mary Drouet was the first Superior and the convent had been built by Vaudreuil for a residence. Ib. For the Ursulines see ante, vol. ii., p. 101. Histoire de Dieppe, ii., p. 133.

[3] Abraham Schuyler, with a Frenchman, a Dutchman, a Mohawk and a Mohegan. N. Y. Col. Doc., p. 682.

[4] The Peace of Ryswick, between France and England, signed Sept. 20, 1697, required a restitution of all places captured; the French capitulation of Fort Bourbon in Sept., 1696, to be carried out. Corps Diplomatique, VII., ii., 399. Memoires des Commissaires, ii., 92, 99, 100.

[5] N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 682. Smith, History of New York, p. 92

1698.

Letter of the Governor General of New England to the Count de Frontenac.

"The King having done me the honor to appoint me Governor of several of his Provinces in America, and among others of that of New York, I have considered it right, while tendering you my respects, to inform you of the peace, which has been concluded by the King and the Confederates with the most Christian King, the articles whereof I enclose. The peace was proclaimed at London in the month of October last, shortly before my departure from England, but as my voyage was long,.... I could not arrive before the 2nd instant.

"I transmit this letter by Colonel Schuiller, member of the King's Council in this province, accompanied by Mr. Dellius, both gentlemen of position and worth, to show you my esteem for a person of your rank. These gentlemen will take you all the French prisoners found in the hands of the English of this province. As for those who are prisoners with our Indians, I shall send orders to have them set at liberty as soon as possible, with a good escort, if that be necessary, to conduct them in all security to Montreal. I have no doubt, sir, that you, on your side will give orders to release all the King's subjects taken prisoners among you during the war, both Christians and Indians, in order that good understanding and freetrade, which are the ordinary fruits of peace, may be renewed on both sides, conformably to the union it has caused between our royal masters."[1]

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[1] N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 690. Richard Coote, 1st Earl of Bellomont, and 2nd Baron of Coloony, in the County of Sligo, born in 1636, was grandson of Sir Charle Coote, a ferocious soldier of fortune in Ireland. Richard succeeded his father as Baron 16th July, 1683. He went to the continent to espouse the interests of William, who after the revolution made him Treasurer and Receiver General to Queen Mary, and Earl of Bellomont. He was made Governor of New York 1697, was blown off to Barbadoes, N. Y. Col. Doc., iv., 296, and did not reach New York till April 2nd, 1698. Ib. p. 302, Smith's New York, 90. He was intensely bigoted, and by a strange abuse of power passed a sanguinary penal law against the Catholic missionaries among the Indians. He died at New York, March 5th, 1701, and was buried in the chapel in the fort, but now lies in St. Paul's churchyard. O' Callaghan, in the N. Y. Col. Doc., iv., p. 851–256 &c. Smith's New York p. 90 &c. The letter here given is not extant in English; it is mentioned vol. iv., p. 305.

1698. The Count de Frontenac replied by a letter dated the 8th of June, in which after meeting politeness by politeness, he states that although he had not received from his royal master a confirmation of the peace, he would without difficulty hand over to Messrs. Schuillier and Dellius, the English and Dutch who were prisoners in his colony and who were willing to return; that he had never refused to make these exchanges in the very heat of the war, notwithstanding the ill-treatment which Captain de Villieu and several other Frenchmen had received at the hands of the English, and capitulations more than once violated; that he was convinced he would not approve such proceedings, nor suffer Captain Baptiste, a privateer,[1] to be any longer kept in chains and treated with greatest rigor.

Frontenac's reply.

He then said that he could not understand his empowering Messrs. Schuillier and Dellius to demand back the Iroquois prisoners in New France, promising to restore the French among them; that these nations had been negotiating with him since the preceding autumn, and had left in his hands a hostage as a security for their word; that he would treat with them alone; and that it was useless for him to interfere in that negotiation, as they were disobedient children to their father, and had always been under the King's dominion, even before the English became masters of New York; that he had such precise orders not to swerve from this principle, that he could not avoid obeying it till he received counter orders; that no difficulties arising on this point, would affect the good understanding which he hoped to maintain with him; that immediately on receiving the first intelligence of peace, he had taken suitable measures to prevent the Indians domiciliated in the French colony from continuing their hostilities against the English settlements; that he had given the same direction to the Canibas and other Indians living on the Acadia coast; but as they were quite remote from him, and much incensed at the detention of several of their

[1] Baptist was not released till after 1705. Murdoch, i., p. 279.

people as prisoners at Boston, he feared they might proceed to some lamentable extremity, unless they were at once satisfied on this score; that till this was done, he could not oblige them to give up the English prisoners then among them, and that he believed them justified in not yielding on this point, inasmuch as they had been frequently dupes of their good faith, having on different occasions given up Englishmen, without succeeding in getting any of their own men in exchange.[1] 1698.

Messrs. Schuiller and Dellius[2] set out with this reply, charmed with the pleasant manners and gracious reception given them by the Count de Frontenac. About two months after, some Iroquois of Sault St. Louis waited on the Governor-General with intelligence from the Mohawks that gave him much pleasure. They had just come from that canton, to which they had gone on a visit to their kindred, a thing these Indians could not refrain from doing from time to time, even in the heart of the war; we have seen the umbrage taken at it more than once by Count de Frontenac; but neither he nor their missionaries had succeeded in effecting any reform on this point.[3]

Conduct of the Mohawks towards Bellomont

They stated that during their stay in this country, the Chevalier de Bellomont had held a great council, which was attended by the sachems of the five cantons: that the Mohawks had begun by declaring that they were masters of their own lands, on which they had been living long before the English appeared; that to show him that all the places occupied by the nation belonged to it as their own, they were going to throw into the fire all the papers given to them or signed on various occasions, as they did on the spot.

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[1] N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 690–1.

[2] Lossing, Life of Schuyler, i. p. 25, evidently confounds John and Peter Schuyler.

Godfrey Dell, or Dellius, came to Albany in 1683 as Dutch minister, was imprisoned by Leisler in 1690, recalled by Sloughter in 1691. After the mission here described, Bellomont turned against him, and by act of the Legislature suspended him in 1699. He then went to Europe and was alive in 1714.

Bellomont's instructions to them will be found in N. Y. Col. Doc., iv., p. 340, and their mission, p. 347.

[3] N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 684. De la Potherie, iv., p. 204.

1698. To this declaration they added, it is true, a proposition, which somewhat reassured him and induced him to cloak his resentment; this was to detain the Indians of Sault St. Louis, who were among them, till the Count de Frontenac had sent back all the Iroquois whom he detained. He nevertheless durst not become a party to this perfidy, for fear the odium would revert on him. He even added that the cantons must not be surprised to see their affairs in a wretched plight, and that to secure peace with the French they must solicit it by a deputation of the whole nation; that he wished to obtain this peace, so essential to their preservation; but that to enable him to terminate this important matter advantageously for them, it was expedient that they should give up to him all their prisoners, he undertaking to convey them to Montreal.

The Governor's proposition to the Iroquois.

Then he told them, that he was aware that they had waged war from time immemorial on the nations styled allies of the French; that he left them free to continue it or make peace; but that he forbade all hostilities against the French and among the Indians domiciliated among them. Then addressing the Iroquois of Sault St. Louis, he told them that he was delighted to see them on his territory, where they should be ever welcome, and that the past must be forgotten. To these marks of friendship he added presents which they accepted; but they told him that they could give no reply, nor make any arrangement with him, because they were not empowered thereto by their sachems or their father Ononthio.[1]

The Iroquois seem inclined to peace.

Frontenac asked what reply the sachems had made to Bellomont's request for the delivery of the prisoners to him. They told him that they had consented to it, but without fixing a time for its execution. The General saw

[1] Relation &c., 1697–8. New York Col. Doc., ix., p. 684. Conference between the Earl of Bellomont and the Five Nations of Indians at Albany, July 20, 1698, printed by Bradford, reprinted in vol. III. N, Y. Historical Society, new series. It is referred to N. Y. Col. Doc., iv., p. 367.

The Iroquois during the war had been reduced from 2650, to 1230 fighting men. N. Y. Col. Doc., iv., p. 337; Belmont, Histoire du Canada, p. 36, says that they were reduced to half, and puts the French loss in killed and taken at 600.

that the English Governor and the Iroquois distrusted each other and were acting cautiously, that the latter were glad to avail themselves of the former to obtain better conditions, and that the Governor wished to profit by the occasion to obtain the right of sovereignty of the English crown over the cantons; but that it would not be impossible to use these dispositions on both sides to effect a breach between them, and that the surest way of succeeding was to gain the Iroquois by showing them that the English wished to dispose of their country and themselves as masters. 1698.

Frontenac undertakes to gain them.

With this view, as he had learned meanwhile that some Mohawks had come to Sault St. Louis, also to visit their kindred, he not only sent to recommend the latter to receive them well, but he even invited them to come to Montreal, where by his orders nothing was omitted to regale them well and express the joy felt at seeing them. They were touched by it, and remained in that city quite a time, with a confidence from which the people augured well for the future. The more enlightened did not rely upon it, but it was something flattering for these Indians to see themselves thus sought by two powers, either of which could have destroyed them in less than one campaign, and whose mutual jealousy they had contrived to work upon so skillfully as to inspire fear, and in some sort respect, from both.

A second letter which the Count de Frontenac received from the Chevalier de Bellomont, dated New York, August 13th, confirmed Frontenac's opinion, that his best course in the present conjuncture was to endeavor to inspire the cantons with distrust of the English, or rather increase that distrust they already felt, so as to lead them to some step suited to our interest. This letter and the Count de Frontenac's reply I have deemed worth inserting.

"I have but just arrived from the frontiers, where I had a conference with our Five Nations of Indians, whom you style Iroquois. They most earnestly begged me to continue them under the protection of the King, my Master,

1698. having protested at the same time inviolable subjection and fidelity to his Majesty, and having complained of the outrages committed on them by your French and Indians of Canada, in violation of the treaty of peace, in which they deemed themselves included by virtue of the fidelity they owe the King, as his subjects. They have also shown me that your people have taken or carried off ninety-four of their people since the publication of peace, which surprises me greatly, the more especially as the Iroquois or Five Indian Nations have always been regarded as subjects of the crown of England, as can be shown to all the world by solid and authentic proofs.

Bellomont's second letter.

"But as I see by your letter of the 8th of June last, it would be useless for me to prove it, as you tell me positively that your orders are so precise....that you cannot overstep them till you receive fresh instructions....You are well aware that the incursions and hostilities committed by your people on our Indians before the last war, were the chief cause why the King declared war against France, as set forth in the declaration, so that I am astonished at your wishing to continue it....on our Indians, as it is a manifest violation of the treaty.

"The King my Master has, thank God, too much penetration in affairs and too great a heart to renounce his right. And for me, I have his interests too much at heart to suffer your people to commit the smallest insult on our Indians, especially to treat them as enemies. I have therefore given them orders to be on their guard, and in case they are attacked, to give no quarter either to Frenchmen or Indians, having furnished them all the assistance they required. You see, sir, I make no difficulty in informing you of all my proceedings, wherein I am certain of being sustained by the King my Master

"To show you how little our Five Nations of Indians regard your Jesuits and other missionaries, they have addressed me repeated instances to induce me to expel them from their country, representing to me that they were oppressed by them: and they have conjured me to send them

some of our Protestant ministers to instruct them in the Christian religion. This I have promised them, and you have done well to forbid your missionaries to interfere any further with them, if they do not wish to undergo the punishment provided by the laws of England, and which I will assuredly enforce every time they fall into my hands, the Indians having promised to bring them to me as prisoners. 1698.

"In conclusion, if you do not arrest acts of hostility on your side, you will be held responsible for all the consequences that may ensue, and I shall leave the whole world to judge which of us is more in the wrong, you for rekindling war, or I for defending our Indians against your attacks.

"These Indians were willing to put into my hands all the prisoners taken from you during the war, exceeding one hundred in number, on condition, that I should assure them of the liberation of their people whom you retain; but I was unwilling to assume all this, till I once more sought to learn your resolution. I send you back, however, four French prisoners whom our Indians had brought to Orange, (Albany,) with my passport to take them to Canada. If you consent to an exchange of prisoners on both sides, you will do well to give me notice thereof, that I have those of your people who are in the hands of the Indians brought together.

"They inform me from New England that your people have killed two Englishmen near a village called Alfiade, (Hatfield,) and that this occurred about the 15th of last month, as these poor people were harvesting unarmed, deeming themselves secure by reason of the peace. Such cruelties cannot be heard of without horror: and nevertheless, it is considered that the reward you give your allies, said to be fifty crowns for each scalp, encourages them to it. You will not, I think, take it amiss, if I tell you that this seems to me utterly opposed to Christianity.

"Day before yesterday two Onondagas came to inform me that you had sent two rebels of their nation to declare to the upper cantons, that in case they did not come to Canada in forty-five days, you would march into their

1698. country at the head of an army to compel them by force. And I, on my side, to-day dispatch my Lieutenant-Governor with regular troops of the King to oppose the hostilities you may undertake; I will even, if need be, put every man in the provinces under my government, in arms, to repulse you and endeavor to make reprisals for the injury you may do our Indians.[1] "

Frontenac's reflection on this letter.

Such loud talk is often a mark of conscious weakness; men seek to gain by threats what they know they cannot carry by force; and the whole thread of this history shows that the English have always assumed this tone, when unable to support their pretensions by arms. Frontenac was not duped by the manner in which the English general wished to make his avail, and even saw that this battery was opened no less on the Iroquois than on him, and the Chevalier Bellomont took up their defence thus warmly, only to enslave them more securely.

He was not a man to omit suggesting this reflection to them, and he probably deferred his reply to the letter just received for a period, only from his wish to have time to impart it to them and be sure of their opinion of it. It seems certain, at least, that he awaited the arrival of the ships from France, to see whether they brought him any orders touching the point. Be that as it may, his reply to Chevalier Bellomont, dated September 21st, ran thus:

His reply.

"I should not have deferred so long sending to receive some intelligence of you by persons of merit and distinction, and to return the civilities you were pleased to express through Messrs. Schuiller and Dellius, had the vessels I expected from France arrived here sooner. Their delay is the sole reason that still induces me to postpone their departure until next spring, fearing, as I do, lest the advanced state of the season should prevent their return before navigation closes *on the lakes and rivers.*

"The dispatches I receive from court inform me, as you have doubtless learned on your side, that the Kings our

[1] Bellomont to Frontenac, N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 693; iv., p. 367–9.

masters had resolved to name commissioners on both sides, 1698.
to regulate the limits of the territories over which their authority in these countries was to extend. Therefore, sir, it seems to me that before assuming the tone you do, you should have awaited the decision to be made by the commissioners, and should not intrude to traverse a proceeding already begun, and which may be regarded as domestic, inasmuch as it is a father seeking by all species of means to recall his children to their duty, beginning by those of mildness, resolved to use more severe measures, in case the first produce no effect.

"It is a matter which you must consider entirely distinct from the treaties of peace and friendship, mutually concluded by the Kings our masters, and you cannot interfere in it, without showing, that instead of employing all means to endeavor to maintain harmony between the two nations, ... you seek pretexts to impair the treaties, which have been concluded, wherein I doubt whether you are authorized by his Britannic Majesty. For, on my own part, while seeking to oblige the Iroquois to fulfill their promise made to me, before it could be known that peace had been made between the two crowns, and for which they have given me hostages, I am but following the course I had taken; while you, sir, depart from yours, by setting up pretensions which are new and groundless.

"In fact you wish me to tell you that I am sufficiently aware of the opinions of the Iroquois to know that there is not one of the Five Nations which . . . . would desire to be under the rule of England, and that you have no proof to convince them of your right, whilst those which we possess and which will be placed in the hands of the commissioners, are so incontestable, that I doubt whether the slightest answer can be made. I am therefore, sir, resolved to pursue my course, and I request you not to attempt to thwart me, because your efforts would be useless, and all the protection and aid you assure me you have already afforded, and will continue to afford the Iroquois in violation of the terms of the treaty, will not cause me

1698. great alarm or oblige me to alter my plans; on the contrary they will rather induce me to press them more vigorously, untoward as may be the results attending them. For these, sir, you will be responsible to your royal master and to heaven.

"You were misinformed, when you were told that the French and Indians settled among us had committed any outrages on the Iroquois. It is very true that the Ottawas and particularly the Algonquins gained a decisive advantage over the Onondagas, because that nation, as well as the rest, had declared that they would make no peace with them;.....still I have reason to think that if the Iroquois have not brought back to me all the prisoners taken from us, it is because you formally opposed it. When they return to their duty and keep their word, I will restore those who are here.

"This does not prevent my thanking you for your kind treatment of the four other Frenchmen whom you sent back. I have been sufficiently explicit in regard to some Acadian Indians, and I have always feared, that if those of their people held prisoners at Boston, in such bad faith, are not at once restored, they will get up some expedition against your colony. Still I regret the inroad, which, as you state they have committed. This obliges me to send them a second order to arrest all acts of hostility; but I beg you to restore them their people, as to whom you give me no answer. You perceive that I speak to you with the same frankness and freedom that you do."[1]

It is quite surprising that Frontenac made no reply to the passage in Chevalier Bellomont's letter alluding to the missionaries, where nevertheless he had a fine opportunity to convict him of bad faith.[2] For in the first place there

[1] Frontenac to Bellomont, 21st Sept. 1698. N. Y. Col. Doc., iv., p. 420, ix., p. 694. See also Ib. p. 682.

[2] After the retirement of the Lambervilles in 1687, (ante iii., p. 278,) there had been no missionary in the cantons except Milet, who was a prisoner at Oneida from 1691 to 1694. Yet Bellomont renews this historical falsehood in the preamble to the N. Y. act of 1700 against Catholic priests.

was then no missionary in the cantons, nor had been for a long time. In the second place the missionaries were never a burthen to the Indians, to whom they always gave much more than they received from them, so that it is inconceivable in what sense the Iroquois could complain of being oppressed by them. It is moreover well known that these people had a great contempt for the Protestant ministers, and that they had often reproached the settlers of New York with having no religion. Hence it is more than probable, that had they wished to become Christians, they would not have chosen to become such Christians as the English, and in fact all the Iroquois who have been converted to Christianity, have embraced the Roman faith. 1698.

Other English pretensions

But it was not merely over the Iroquois country and the persons of those Indians, that the Governor-General of New England extended his pretensions. He had been persuaded, and the Rev. Mr. Dellius so declared in formal terms to the Chevalier de Callieres on his passage through Montreal, that his nation having succeeded to all the rights of Holland, when it had ceded Surinam to them in exchange for New York, Michillimackinac and all south of that post reverted to it. The Governor of Montreal asked the minister on what he grounded his claim, and where he had learned that New Netherland, before it became New York, extended to all the countries he spoke of.

"For us," he added, "it will be easy to adduce the best evidence that we had discovered and were in possession of the Ottawa and even of the Iroquois country, before any Hollander set foot there, and that the right of possession established by several official acts (titres) at various points of the cantons, was interrupted only by the war, which we had been obliged to wage against that nation, on account of their revolts and outrages." Dellius saw that he had met a well-informed man, not easily to be led away from his premises: he did not press the matter, and the Chevalier Bellomont did not deem it expedient to introduce the

1698. question in his correspondence with the Count de Frontenac.[1]

Acadian affairs.

He succeeded a little better at first in the direction of Acadia, where he regarded as a stroke of policy to secure the English authority, or at least set his mind at rest in regard to the Indians, who during the war had spread such terror through all New England. The Chevalier de Villebon, in a letter, which he wrote to Mr. de Pontchartrain on the 3rd of October in this year, informed that minister that the English were thinking of restoring Fort Pemkuit and settling on both banks of the Kinibequi (Kennebec), neither of which projects he considered ought to be permitted; but that as he had not force enough to oppose it openly, he could readily find means to thwart them by letting the Indians act their pleasure.[2]

He added that the English continued to fish on our shores; that the inhabitants of Port Royal had written to the Governor-General of New England to ask his protection, and that one Le Borgne, son or relative of the man who had formerly succeeded to all the rights of the Sieur d'Aunai de Charnisé over that part of America, setting himself up as lord of all the country from the Mines to Isle Verte, exacted from the English fifty crowns for each vessel that came to traffic within the extent of his pretended domain.[3]

Regulation of the limits for the southern coast of New France.

It was expected at the court and in Canada that in settling the limits, a matter then in hand, these various pretensions would be disposed of; but the peace proved too short to conclude the affair. Moreover they did not sufficiently consider in France the great advantage of one in possession over his competitor. In fact although the limits of New France on this southern shore had been

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[1] Dellius and Schuyler, in their Journal, say nothing of any rights from the Dutch, but testimony was at once taken to show Dutch intercourse and alliance with the Iroquois from 1639. N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 352.

[2] Villebon to Gov. Stoughton, Sept. 5, 1698, claims the Kennebec as the boundary, with free navigation. Jefferys, Conduite des Français, p. 172.

[3] Canada Documents, II., v., p 25

fixed at the Kennebec River, and on the last occasion the English had been expelled from Pemkuit, which ought to belong to us by virtue of that treaty, yet because the English had returned to it, Messieurs de Tallard and d'Herbaut, Commissioners appointed by the King, were obliged to draw our frontier within that post and place it at St. George's River, at an almost equal distance from the Kinibequi and Pentagoët. This was confirmed in 1700 by Mr. de Villieu on the part of the Most Christian King, and by Mr. de Soudric on the part of his Britannic Majesty.[1] 1698.

Nothing was settled in regard to the Iroquois country because those Indians protested they were independent, and neither party apparently wished to make enemies of them. Hudson's Bay remained entirely ours, because we were the actual possessors. The English confined themselves to asking heavy damages for our wresting the forts at the head of the bay from them in time of peace. Against this we brought up their previous attack on Fort Nelson, when there was no war between the two crowns, and where we had suffered a much heavier loss.

We had ravaged rather than conquered the eastern shore of Newfoundland. The English soon re-established their posts and we had allowed them to do so. The island of Cape Breton was not then an object, and our actual settlement on it was nowise calculated to excite the jealousy of the English; it was left in our hands; but the war, which soon broke out again in Europe, once more left the reciprocal pretensions of the two countries to the chances of war.

Death of the Count de Frontenac.

Scarcely two months after the Count de Frontenac wrote to the Chevalier Bellomont the letter just cited, he was attacked by a disease, manifestly dangerous from the first, and which took him off on the 28th of November. He was in his seventy-eighth year, but as sound in body as

[1] Memoires des Commissaires, ii., p. 335. Jefferys, Conduite des Français, p. 175. Dicreville, writing at this time, makes the St. George the boundary. Voyage en Acadie, p. 196.

1698. it is possible to be at that age, preserving all the firmness and vivacity of mind that characterized his best years. He died as he had lived, beloved by many, esteemed by all, and with the glory of having, almost unaided by France, sustained and even augmented a colony unprotected and assailed on all sides, and which he had found on the brink of ruin. He seemed to have much solid religious principle, and till his death constantly gave public marks of it. He was never accused of self-interest; but it was not easy to reconcile the piety he professed, with his conduct toward those against whom he had taken a prejudice. The asperity of his somewhat sombre disposition, and a low jealousy which never left him, prevented his enjoying all the fruit of his success, and somewhat dimmed his character, which was distinguished by firmness, nobility and lofty ideas. Yet withal, New France was indebted to him for all that she was at his death, and the great void it left was soon marked.[1]

Attempt of the Iroquois to deceive the Chev. de Callieres.

In fact the Iroquois had no sooner learned that he was no more, than they supposed they could with impunity violate the kind of treaty which they had made with him, but they wished to act cautiously, before an open declaration. In the month of March following they sent deputies to Montreal,[2] and it was easily perceived that their only design was to ascertain the condition of the colony deprived of its head. In their fashion they bewailed the death of their Father; they presented to the Governor of Montreal, who was invested with the general command, three French prisoners, and they promised him to restore all the others, if he would set at liberty their countrymen still retained by him.

They then begged him to send the Sieur de Maricourt with them, accompanied by two Indians of Sault St. Louis and the Mountain, to go with them to Albany where the

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[1] He was buried in the church of the Recollects, and his funeral sermon, pronounced by Father Olivier, Commissary of the Recollects, is still extant. Juchereau, Histoire de l'Hôtel Dieu p. 378, De la Potherie, iv., p. 111.

[2] They were Onhouentsiouann, Tsonhuastsuam and Otaxesté, De la Potherie, iv., p. 115.

exchange was to be made and peace concluded. They declared that it would also give them pleasure to have Father Bruyas, one of their old missionaries, accompany them also, as well as to have Father de Lamberville recalled from France, he being better fitted than any one else, they said, to maintain a good understanding between the two nations. They finally declared that they could not put any confidence in him, so long as he kept the war kettle on the fire, and did not arrest the tomahawk of his allies.[1] 1698.

The Governor's course.

The Chevalier de Callieres replied that the kettle should stay on the fire till peace was concluded: that he would treat of peace at Montreal, not at Albany: and would hearken to no proposition on their part, till they had satisfied all the conditions imposed upon them by the late Count de Frontenac; that then Mr. de Maricourt and Father Bruyas should visit them, and he would write to France to solicit Father de Lamberville's return. They seemed quite satisfied with this reply, which was nevertheless apparently unexpected, and they limited their requests to one for security to come and go freely.

Mr. de Callieres granted them sixty days' truce, and on their pressing to obtain four prisoners whom the Onondaga canton solicited most earnestly, he consented to exchange them for four Frenchmen. In the sequel he had abundant reason for rejoicing that he had not shown greater facility; for it was soon seen that these savages had no other object than gradually to get back all the prisoners held by us, while keeping those they had, and almost all of whom they had adopted. On setting out the deputies promised to return before the month of June; but the French placed little dependence on this promise, as they were informed that the English wished to be the arbiters of peace, and pretended that the Iroquois as their subjects were comprised in the treaty concluded at Riswick between the two crowns.[2]

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[1] See the Explanation of the Collars, Ib.

[2] De la Potherie, Hist. de l'Am. Sept., iv., p. 118–122.

1698. The arrival of the first ships from France informed the Chevalier de Callieres that the King had appointed him successor to the Count de Frontenac,[1] and the joy manifested by all orders in the colony, gratified him as much as his sovereign's selection. Mr. de Champigny had been his rival, and he himself was perhaps indebted for his preference only to the fact that his envoy had been more expeditious than the Intendant's, who on reaching Versailles found the vacancy filled.[2]

DeCallieres appointed Governor General.

Both deserved it, nor is it easy to say which would have been more acceptable to the colonists in Canada. Mr. de Champigny had acquired great experience in the affairs of the country. His virtue, zeal, disinterestedness, equity, and suavity especially fitted him to govern a colony where there were arms enough to execute what a chief so sagacious and beloved had determined in council; but Mr. de Callieres, with the same advantages, was also qualified to put himself at the head of the troops, who had already more than once marched under his orders, and who admired equally his skill and his intrepidity.

His character.

Without the brilliant qualities of his predecessor, he had all that was solid: upright disinterested views, without prejudice or passion; firmness always consonant with reason, valor moderated and made useful by a phlegmatic temperament, sound sense, great probity and honor, and a penetration of mind, to which great application and long experience had added all the light they can give; he had from the outset acquired great sway over the Indians, who knew him to be exact in keeping his word, and firm in requiring others to keep theirs. The French on their side were convinced that he would exact nothing of them that was unreasonable; and that if he had neither the birth nor high

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[1] His brother the Count de Callieres, was Secretary to the King, and thus undoubtedly secured his appointment. April 20, 1699.

[2] On Frontenac's death de Callieres dispatched de Courtemanche to France and de Champigny sent de Vincelotte, both by way of England. Juchereau, Histoire de l'Hotel Dieu, p. 379. In Canada, according to De la Potherie, iv., p. 122, some desired the return of Denonville, others the appointment of the Marquis de Villette.

connections of the Count de Frontenac, nor the rank of Lieutenant-General in the King's armies, he was no less able than he, to enforce obedience, and yet not a man to make the burthen of authority too clearly felt. 1698.

The governorship of Montreal, vacant by de Callieres' promotion, was given to the Chevalier de Vaudreuil, then at court, his activity, pleasant address, noble and amiable manners, as well as the confidence of military men in him, admirably fitting him to fill a post of that importance. Catarocouy was then also a post of great consequence, and his Majesty directed the new Governor-General to confer the command only on vigilant officers, able to act by themselves, when time and the necessity of the moment prevented their awaiting his orders, and on whom he could rely, as a second self, for the preservation of such a fort.[1] Mr. DeVaudreuil Governor of Montreal.

The Governor of New England had then turned his attention mainly to the Abénaqui nations, and under pretext that the Kinibequi, (Kennebec,) where the Canibas had always had their principal towns, was in possession of the English, he held the same pretensions in regard to these Indians as in regard to the Iroquois. The King, in a letter addressed to the Count de Frontenac under date of March 25th, (his Majesty not yet knowing his death,) ordered him to act in concert with the English General; directing, however, at the same time, that till the boundaries of the two colonies were settled, he should strictly adhere to the course of not suffering any change in regard to the allies of both crowns, and maintain all things in relation to it, on the same footing as in the commencement of August of the preceding year.[2] Pretensions of the Governor of New England as to the Canibas.

However, as the French were very sure of the Canibas, and in general of all the Abenaqui nations, the younger Father Bigot having come in the beginning of January to inform Mr. de Callieres that the English seemed disposed to treat in good faith with those Indians, the Commandant replied that he saw no objection to letting

[1] For a sketch of Vaudreuil, see ante, iii., p. 282.

[2] Louis XIV. to Frontenac, 25th March, 1699, N. Y. C. Doc., ix., p. 697.

1699. them go on. In fact the Abénaquis having received the propositions of the English General, who even promised to meet them the next spring, they forwarded the following articles to him: 1. That he should begin by withdrawing the English forever from their country. 2. That they did not see on what ground he pretended to be their master, which neither he nor any of his predecessors had ever been; that they, of their own free will, and unconstrained, had given themselves to the King of France, and would never receive orders from any one but him and his generals. 3d. That they would never permit the English to erect habitations on their lands, and that they had granted permission to do so only to the French. 4th. That they were greatly surprised to hear that he thought of giving them any missionaries but their own; that they were glad to inform him that they did not wish to change their religion, and would never have any other but that which had been taught them, and for which they had fought and would fight to the death.[1]

On what conditions the Indians are willing to treat with him.

At this juncture the Chevalier de Callieres received through Bellomont, a letter by which his Majesty ordered him to stop all acts of hostility between the French and English. This letter was addressed open to the English general, and the King of England had similarly addressed to the Chevalier de Callieres that written by him in conformity, to the Chevalier Bellomont. The Chevalier de Callieres thought fit to send it to Boston, by Mr. de la Valliere, Major of Montreal,[2] and to have that officer attended by Father Bruyas. These deputies were directed to bring back all the French prisoners in New England, and they were especially recommended to examine

Mr. de la Valliere and Father Bruyas sent to Boston.

[1] Father James Bigot mentions that they had begun to give up English prisoners. He went to Quebec to report what passed between them and the English, and starting to return fell sick, was taken back, and did not set out again till after Easter. Relation des affaires du Canada, pp. 63–73. On the 7th of Jan. 1699, a treaty was made at Mare Point with the Sagamores of Penobscot, Kennebec, Androscoggin and Saco. Williamson's Maine, i., p. 649.

[2] Appointed in 1698. Daniel ii., p. 296.

the disposition of the English governor in regard to the Abénaquis and Iroquois. 1699.

The last had quite recently sent a deputation to the new Governor-General, to compliment him on his promotion, but the deputies had not spoken of business, and information came some time after, that a party of this nation had committed hostilities against the Miamis and killed several.[1] It seemed nevertheless that the cantons generally were inclined to peace, and deferred concluding it only out of consideration for the English. On the other hand Bellomont was convinced that these Indians would never remain neutral, and that they must necessarily declare for or against the French.

Bellomont still assumes to be arbiter of peace.

In this idea, as he had positive orders from the King of Great Britain to compel them to lay down arms, orders that he could not dissemble, inasmuch as the Chevalier de Callieres had seen them, and retained a duplicate, he resumed the design of making himself the sovereign arbiter of the treaty. Thus on learning the engagements made by the cantons with the late Count de Frontenac, he summoned them to meet him at Albany. They refused, and he, surprised at this refusal, sent them confidential agents, who succeeded in persuading them to spin the matter out.[2]

De Callieres' policy to compel the Iroquois to make peace without him.

They accordingly failed to appear at Montreal, although they had recently promised the Chevalier de Callieres to be there, and had set a time for their arrival, and that general, not to be surprised by those savages, put himself in a position to make war actively, should they attempt to renew hostilities: but his best and most effectual step to overthrow Bellomont's batteries was his sending to Onondaga a copy of the King of England's letter to that governor, and in this he had more than one object. For in the first place he wished to inform the Iroquois, that the English regarded them simply as subjects of their

[1] De la Potherie, iv., p. 131. N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 704.

[2] See N. Y. Col. Doc., iv., 562–573, 654–661. They met him at Albany June 30, 1700. N. Y. Col. Doc. p. 693.

1699. King, and in fact, that prince assumed this tone in his letter. In the second place, he informed them that they must in future expect no succor from New York, the Governor-General of New England being forbidden to furnish them any, either directly or indirectly. In fine he made them feel, at the same time, that it would not be difficult for him to reduce them by force, if they refused to make peace on the conditions which his predecessor had offered them.[1]

Decision of the cantons.

This course produced the anticipated effect: in truth the cantons did not deem it expedient to break off with the English, whose aid they might subsequently need; they preferred to smother the resentment they felt at their pretensions, and contented themselves with declaring, that they were willing enough to be their brothers, but not their subjects. The English on their side also adopted the course of conciliating them. At last the cantons, after tergiversating still for a time, and endeavoring to avenge their losses on those of our allies, to whom they ascribed them, seeing that all this failed, prepared in earnest to come to terms, while they could still do so with advantage and honor.[2]

They are defeated by the Ottawas.

In consequence of this resolution, two Iroquois[3] came on the 21st of March 1700 to meet the Governor-General. They were invested with no powers; but were commissioned to announce a general deputation from the cantons in the month of July. For this delay they adduced very frivolous reasons, at which de Callieres seemed anything but satisfied. Three months after, a large number of Ottawas landed at Montreal, where the General then was, and told him what he already knew, that they had attacked the Iroquois who had come to hunt on their grounds, and killed twenty-eight men and women; that the others having asserted that they thought themselves at liberty to hunt anywhere, as all hostilities were suspended on the part of the French and their allies, the Ottawas had

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[1] De la Potherie, iv., p. 123–130.
[2] N. Y. Col. Doc., iv., p. 492.
[3] De la Potherie., Hist. de l'Amér. Sept., iv., p. 134.

promised them not to injure the prisoners, till they ascertained the will of their father Ononthio. 1700.

What passed between them and de Callieres.

De Callieres, after hearing them calmly, told them that they did not tell him all; that he was informed that, in spite of his prohibition, they had gone to attack the Sioux, and that after their blow at the Iroquois, they had sent some of their prisoners to the cantons, to negotiate with them without his participation; that it was beginning badly with him to act with this independence in so important a matter, after the assurance he had given them, that he would conclude nothing with the Iroquois except in concert with them; that they must assuredly have forgotten the manner, in which the Iroquois had often treated them, to trust so to them again; that he hoped that they would in future be better advised and more circumspect; that he expected every moment deputies from the cantons, and that if on their arrival the chiefs of the allied nations had not yet come, he would inform them by express of his intentions; that meanwhile they should remain tranquil and treat their prisoners well.

Iroquois deputies at Montreal.

On the 18th of July two deputies from the Onondaga and four from the Seneca canton arrived at Montreal, and were presented by Mr. de Maricourt to the General, who gave them a public audience; they were conducted to it in ceremony, and while marching through the streets to Mr. de Callieres' house they bewailed all the French slain during the war, whose souls they invoked as witnesses of the sincerity of their conduct.[1]

As soon as they were introduced into the Council Hall where the Governor-General was with all his Court,[2] they declared that they came in behalf of the four upper cantons, whose powers they bore; that they had long been resolved to treat without the Mohawks, and that if among

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[1] The Onondagas were Haratsions, and Ouhensiouan; the Senecas Tonarengouenion, Tonatakout or Tehastakout. N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 708, The Onondagas are called Tsonhoaestsuam and Aouenano by De la Potherie., iv., p. 135–6.

[2] They waited for Joncaire to come. De la Potherie, Hist., iv., p. 136.

1700. them there was no one from the Cayuga and Oneida cantons, it was because the Chevalier Bellomont having sent Peter Schuiller to dissuade them from going down to Montreal, the deputies of those two cantons had gone to learn the reason of his opposition to their voyage.[1]

Their propositions. They then complained, that having gone hunting without any distrust, on the assurance, that the war between the French and England had been terminated by a treaty which included the allies of the two nations, the Ottawas on one side, the Illinois and Miamis on the other, had attacked them and killed a hundred and fifty men.[2] They at last requested that Father Bruyas, with Messrs. de Maricourt and Joncaire, should accompany them on their return home, nothing, they said, being better calculated to convince the cantons that their Father sincerely desired peace, than such a condescension towards them. They added that these three ambassadors should not leave their country without receiving all the French prisoners still detained there.[3]

The Governor General's reply. The Chevalier de Callieres replied: First, that he had nothing to add to what the Chevalier Bellomont had told them in regard to the treaty of peace concluded between the two crowns of France and England, and that he was surprised, that the deputies from Oneida and Cayuga had gone to that Governor, instead of coming with their brethren to fulfill their engagements to him and to the late Count de Frontenac. Second, that he had taken steps with his allies to prevent their committing any hostilities during the peace negotiations; but that the feigned delays of the cantons, and the irruption of some Iroquois on the Miamis, had drawn upon them the misfortunes of which they complained; that he regretted it, notwithstanding, and to prevent like accidents had summoned deputies from all the nations; that they too, if their wish for peace was sincere, would not fail to send him within thirty days

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[1] De la Potherie., iv., p. 140–1.

[2] Fifty-five. N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 708.

[3] Ib. pp. 708–711. De la Potherie, iv., p. 137–140.

ambassadors from all the cantons; that then the war-kettles should be overturned, the great tree of peace strengthened, the rivers cleansed, the roads made smooth so that every one could come and go in all security whither he chose. Thirdly, he consented that the missionary and two officers should go as requested with them for the prisoners; but on condition that they should also bring ambassadors invested with full power to establish a lasting peace; that on their arrival in Montreal, he would set at liberty all the Iroquois prisoners; but that he wished some one of them to remain as a hostage till the return of the three persons whom he entrusted to them. Four deputies offered to remain, and were accepted.[1] The rest of the audience passed quite tranquilly, except that some Iroquois Christians and Abénaquis, who had been invited, met the deputies of the two cantons with bitter reproaches and haughty words.[2] 1700.

Reception of the French ambassadors at Onondaga.

De Callieres on dismissing the deputies declared that he would wait for the ambassadors till the month of September. The three French ambassadors set out with them, and were received at Onondaga with demonstrations of joy that they had not dared to anticipate. From Lake Gannentaha, where the Iroquois had come to meet them, they were led as it were in triumph to the great village of the canton. Teganissorens, as orator, had advanced a considerable distance to compliment them; he addressed them in the most polished terms, and as this Indian had never varied in his attitude towards the French, nor had taken any part in the perfidy or violent acts of his nation, the ambassadors felt no doubt of his sincerity; but they could draw from this no conclusion as to the others.[3]

Father Bruyas' address.

They entered the town amid volleys of musketry, and were then lavishly feasted. On the 10th of August they were introduced into the Council Cabin, where they found

[1] Conference July 18, 1700. N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 708–711. De la Potherie, iv., p. 142–6.

[2] This was later, see De la Potherie, iv., p. 170.

[3] De la Potherie., iv., p. 148. N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 711. They reached Onondaga July 24, 1700. O. S. Ib., iv., p. 639, Colden, Hist'y Five Nations, p. 200.

1700. the deputies of all the upper cantons. When all had taken their places, Father Bruyas, who was the speaker, began his address. This turned chiefly on three points, which he supported by three belts. By the first, he exhorted the cantons to remember that Ononthio was their father, and that duty and interest alike induced them to be obedient and submissive to him, as became children, whether they were on good terms with the Governor of New York, who was only their brother, or had any difficulty with him. By the second, he expressed his regret at the loss of several chiefs of merit sustained by the Iroquois nation, and he assured it, on behalf of the missionaries, that they had lost none of their former sentiments towards it, notwithstanding the injuries it had inflicted on several of them, "whose sufferings," he added, "we have felt less keenly than the blindness of their persecutors and the invincible obstinacy of the nation in rejecting the light of the gospel." By the third, he declared that the new Ononthio was sincerely inclined to peace, and that he would grant it to them, provided they, on their side, acted as frankly with him, and he explained the conditions under which he wished to treat with them. He was heard with great attention, and, to all appearance, with pleasure. When he concluded, Mr. de Maricourt spoke: he expressed great friendship for the Iroquois, and neglected nothing to impress on them all they had to dread from their Father's resentment, in case they refused the peace which he offered on such reasonable conditions as those just explained; and what they could hope from him and all the French, if they once opened their eyes to their true interests.[1]

Bellomont's attempt to thwart this negotiation.

The next day, as they were deliberating together on the answer to be made to the ambassadors, a young Englishman and an old Onondaga arrived from Orange, (Albany,) and told them, from the Chevalier Bellomont, to beware of listening to the French, and that he expected them in ten

[1] De la Potherie, iv., p. 149–154. Col. Doc., iv., p. 742; Colden, History of the Five Nations, p. 300. For the Indian account, see N. Y.

or twelve days at Albany, where he would inform them of his pleasure. This imperious tone shocked the council, and nothing perhaps contributed more to incline that nation towards us, than this unseasonable step. "I do not understand," then said Teganissorens, "what my brother means, in desiring us not to hearken to our Father's voice, and to sing the war-song at a time when everything invites us to peace." 1700.

Father Bruyas profited wonderfully by this disposition, to show the assembly that the English General treated the cantons as subjects, and all that they would have to fear from so harsh and haughty a rule, when once they were subjected to it; that this would infallibly soon happen, if they let slip the occasion now in their hands of being reconciled to their Father. Joncaire added that the English, in opposing this reconciliation, could have no other view than to let them gradually destroy themselves by war, or at least become so weak as to be no longer able to shake off a yoke whose weight they would learn perhaps too late.

Several French prisoners refuse to return to the colony.

That same day this officer set out for the Seneca canton, where he had his cabin, that is to say, had been adopted, as Mr. de Maricourt and all his family had been at Onondaga. He was received with distinction as ambassador, and with friendship as a child of the nation. They granted him the liberty of all the French prisoners who were in that canton; but the majority, grown accustomed to Indian life, could not bring themselves to renounce it. Several hid themselves, others openly refused to follow the Sieur de Joncaire. The allurements of a liberty unfettered by any law, and perhaps, too, some degree of libertinage, effaced in the minds of these men all the hardships of their life, and all the enjoyments their own country could proffer.

Address of Teganissorens to the French ambassadors.

While Joncaire was negotiating with the Senecas, a general council of the whole Iroquois nation was held at Onondaga; the young English deputy of the Chevalier Bellomont was admitted, and Teganissorens spoke for all

1700. the cantons. He first addressed the French ambassadors, and began by assuring them that all his nation was disposed to hearken to the voice of their Father, that is to say in Indian style, obey him. He added that each canton would send him two deputies to receive his orders, and that they would set out immediately.

Then turning towards the Englishman, "I do nothing in secret," said he. "I am glad to have you know the disposition in which I am. Tell my brother Corlar, who sent you here, that I am about to go down to Quebec in compliance with the commands of my Father Ononthio, who has there planted the tree of peace; then I shall go to Orange, (Albany,) to ascertain what my brother wishes of me." With these words he laid five belts at the feet of the ambassadors.[1]

Father Bruyas took them up, which is equivalent to accepting them; and then said that he had no doubt of the uprightness of the speaker's intentions, having long known him; but that if those who were to proceed to the Governor-General, wished to see him without causing delay to the deputies of the western nations, who were soon, it was known, to arrive at Montreal, there was no time to be lost.[2]

Mission of an English minister to the Mohawks.

One thing however that greatly disquieted the ambassadors was the fact, that the Chevalier Bellomont had recently induced the Iroquois to favor his sending ministers to them as missionaries, and Mr. Dellius had already begun his labors among the Mohawks, though in fact he discharged the office in a way not to be very troublesome, although it gave him a salary of twelve hundred livres. He remained almost constantly at Albany, where he had the children brought for baptism: an Iroquois woman who lived near him and attended him on short and rare excursions, acted as his interpreter in instructing the adults; but the proselytes were very few, nor did the preacher seem very eager to swell the number.

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[1] De la Potherie, Histoire de l'Amérique Sept., iv., p. 154–9.

[2] Ib., p. 159; compare N. Y. Col. Doc., iv. p. 742.

I do not know exactly how long this mission lasted; but I find in my authorities that some years after, Dellius was driven from Albany by Bellomont.[1] It is certain that the Protestant religion has not met with much success among the Mohawks. It is not the first attempt of the kind, which should convince the Reformed that their sect has neither the fecundity nor the constant and laborious zeal for the salvation of the heathen, which is one of the most striking marks to know and distinguish the true church of Jesus Christ. It is vain for them to raise against it all the calumnies begot by their own imagination to tarnish the apostleship of our missionaries. Without attempting to apologize for individuals, all of whom may not have been so irreprehensible, one must be wilfully blind not to admit that the great majority lead a truly apostolic life, and have founded very numerous and fervent churches, which no sect separated from the communion of Rome can boast of doing. 1700.

Nevertheless Father Bruyas, who saw no great disposition on the part of the Iroquois to hearken to the word of God, did not deem it expedient to touch on the matter of their agreeing to accept Anglican ministers, so as not to raise an unseasonable obstacle to the conclusion of a treaty that he was sent to negotiate. He moreover properly considered the course taken by Dellius to unite the Iroquois to the English by the bond of religion much more likely to produce just the contrary effect, as it did in fact. These Indians soon perceived the difference between that minister's mode of life and action, and what they had seen in their former missionaries, whom they were not slow in recalling.

[1] Dellius (ante p. 83) began his labors among the Indians in 1689, and his Registers (Munsell's Annals of Albany I, 96–101; II, 163–174; III, 61–82,) show many Indians baptized and received as church members. See Miller's New York, p. 104–5. In 1700 Rev. Bernard Freeman began the mission seriously. He translated Matthew and other portions of Scripture. His work was continued by Thoroughgood Moor, (N. Y. Col. Doc., iv. p. 1077,) Barclay, VanDriessen and others. A little Catechism was published in 1707, in Mohawk, Dutch and English, and a Prayer Book in 1715. Ib. 121, 6. Freeman states, (N. Y. Col Doc., iv., p. 835,) that he found only 26 Christians on his arrival.

1700.

The ambassadors return to Montreal.

There being nothing more to delay the ambassadors at Onondaga, they set out to return to Montreal with deputies from that canton and Cayuga. They were escorted to Gannentaha with the same honors given them on their arrival, and they halted there some time for the Oneida deputies. These did not come, however, and that canton contented itself with merely sending a belt, alleging as an excuse that the chief man of the deputation had fallen sick. It was afterwards known that this was a pretext to avoid giving up the prisoners. Joncaire soon after arrived there with six Seneca deputies and three Frenchmen whom he had delivered and induced to follow him. Only ten had been collected in all the cantons; but Teganissorens undertook to hunt up the rest and have them sent to Montreal.[1]

Bellomont's renewed efforts to thwart a peace.

The ambassadors and deputies were about to embark, when a Seneca [2] arriving at Gannentaha from Albany, stated that the Governor of New England, incensed that the cantons should, in spite of his orders, persist in their resolution of making peace with the French, had arrested and put in irons an Oneida accused of killing an Englishman, seized all the beaver skins he could find at Albany belonging to the Iroquois, raised the red flag to intimate that he was determined to make war on them, ordered the Mohegans to begin operations, and threatened that he would come the next year in person to teach the cantons to respect his will.[3]

Reception of the deputies at Montreal.

The deputies heard this very calmly, and the account seemed to produce no impression beyond exciting a feeling of indignation, which they did not altogether conceal. They set out to the number of nineteen, and on arriving at Montreal, were received with a salute of patararoes [4] which excited some jealousy in the hearts of our allies.

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[1] De la Potherie, iv., p. 161, Colden's Five Nations, p. 203.

[2] Osketaest.

[3] De la Potherie, iv., p. 163, Bellomont held a conference with fifty sachems of the Five Nations at Albany, Aug. 27, 1700. N. Y. Col Doc., iv., p. 727–746.

[4] Boetes de rejouissance—short cannon set up vertically and plugged so as to make a very loud report.

Some were even heard asking whether that was the way the French received their enemies. They were allowed to speak so, without perhaps reflecting sufficiently on what it might lead to, and a day was set to hear the propositions of the Iroquois deputies. We always risk losing friends by endeavoring to regain enemies, whom such a course renders still more haughty and unmanageable. 1700.

Their speeches in the Council.

The orator of the cantons spoke briefly and moderately. He first extolled the prompt obedience of the nation in countermanding (at the simple prohibition made by Father Bruyas and his two colleagues on behalf of their Father) two hundred of their braves just about to take the field to avenge the last hostilities of our allies. He exposed the indignation excited among the deputies by the orders and threats of the Governor-General of New England; and he added, that as their disregard of these orders and menaces might draw upon them an English war, he hoped the Iroquois would find at Catarocouy not only the goods which they could no longer obtain at Orange, (Albany,) but also the arms and ammunition they might require, so as to dispense with the English, or defend themselves in case the English attacked them.[1]

Chevalier de Callieres' reply.

A more numerous audience gathered on the day appointed for a reply to this speech. The Chevalier de Callieres first repeated to the deputies what he had stated to the first envoys, that he had heard with regret of the hostilities committed on both sides during the last campaign; that he was extremely concerned at the losses of the Iroquois, although they should impute them solely to themselves; and that he would in future establish such perfect order, that nothing of the kind should happen again.

He then told them that they had acted very wisely in recalling their warriors; that they need fear nothing more from our allies, whose head chiefs they beheld come to hear his voice; that he thanked them for bringing back a

[1] N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 715; De la Potherie, iv., p. 164–6; Col- den, p. 202. History of the Five Nations.

1700. part of the French prisoners, and expected them to restore the rest forthwith as they had agreed to do; and also restore to his allies such of their people as they still detained; that to do this he gave them till the month of August in the following year; that the deputies of all the nations would then meet at Montreal, and prisoners be exchanged on both sides, and all things restored to the same condition as before the war.[1]

As the limit he gave them was somewhat long, in order to anticipate any accidents that might happen, he told them that if any difference arose, or evil-minded men gave rise to any hostility, he wished the party injured to apply to him, without undertaking themselves to obtain redress, which he would secure without regard to any one; that if the aggressor refused to submit to the satisfaction he enjoined, he would join the injured parties to compel him and make him regret his disobedience; that it would not depend on him if the Governor-General of New England did not pursue the same course, and act in concert with him, such being the intention of their two royal masters; that their request in regard to Fort Catarocouy did not depend entirely on him; but that he would write to the King, and while awaiting his majesty's reply would send to that post an officer, some goods, and a blacksmith.[2]

Provisional treaty signed on both sides.

The Iroquois applauded this speech, and avowed that no more reasonable words had ever been addressed to them. The Rat, who was the deputy and chief of the Thionnontatez Hurons, then rose and said: "I have always obeyed my Father, and I cast my tomahawk at his feet: all the upper nations will, I have no doubt, do the same: Iroquois, follow my example." The deputy of the four Ottawa nations spoke in almost the same tone; the Abénaqui deputy said that he had no tomahawk but his Father's, and his Father having buried it, he had none. The Iroquois Christians made the same declaration. There was nevertheless some pique between these last two nations and the

[1] De la Potherie, iv., p. 167. See N. Y. Col. Doc., iv., p. 798, 808. Indian reports of the proceedings. [2] N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 718.

deputies of the cantons; but all was soon appeased by the General's prudence, and a sort of provisional treaty was signed.[1] 1700.

The Chevalier de Callieres signed first, then the Intendant, next the Governor of Montreal, the Commandant of the troops and the Ecclesiastic and Regular Superiors present at the assembly. The Indians also signed, each putting the mark of his nation below the treaty The Onondagas and Senecas traced a spider, the Cayugas a Calumet, the Oneidas a forked piece of wood with a stone in the middle, the Mohawks a bear, the Hurons a beaver, the Abénaquis a deer, and the Ottawas a hare. The Mohawks and Oneidas had however no deputies, but had apparently authorized some one to sign for them. We shall soon see, however, that these marks are not always the same. This treaty bears date September 8th, 1700.

De Callieres' efforts to confirm peace.

This matter thus arranged to the satisfaction of all parties, the General dispatched Mr. de Courtmanche and Father Anjelran to the western and northern nations, to induce those, whose deputies had not appeared, to consent to the treaty and bring him chiefs of all, that the meeting appointed for the month of August in the ensuing year might be general. He especially charged them to omit nothing to arrest the war, still raging furiously between our allies and the Sioux; but this was not easy, the Sioux having in the last spring carried off a whole village of Miamis.[4]

He then wrote to Mr. de Pontchartrain to report what he had just done, and informed him that he deemed it a duty to profit by the actual disposition of the cantons; to settle to advantage the boundary between the English and ourselves; that if in settling this we could not obtain the ownership of the Iroquois country, it must at least be de-

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[1] Sept. 8, 1700. Ib. p. 720. The French now first began the system of written treaties with the Indians. To balance this the English obtained, Oct. 7, a sort of submission of the Abénaquis to the Five Nations. Ib., iv., p. 758.

[2] N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 715–721. De la Potherie, iv., p. 174.

[3] Crane, Canada Doc., II. ix., p. 59.

[4] De la Potherie, iv., p. 175. N. Y. Col. D., ix., p. 712. Ante iii., p. 288.

1700. clared neutral, and a stipulation made that neither French nor English should be allowed to make any establishments there. That in spirituals, he considered that these people should be left entirely free to choose either Catholic missionaries or Protestant ministers, and that we might rest assured that they would always prefer the former to the latter.[1]

Bellomont wishes to force the Iroquois to receive ministers as missionaries.

The Chevalier Bellomont was himself convinced of this, although he affected a contrary opinion; but he thought that he could carry by force what he despaired of obtaining otherwise. He nevertheless began by making presents to the cantons to gain them; then he told them that he was going to send ministers among them, and he added that if the Jesuits appeared in their villages he would hang them. This course roused the Iroquois; but what spoiled all, was Bellomont's intimation that he intended to erect forts in the cantons of Mohawk, Oneida and Onondaga, especially at the mouth of the river Chougouen. They broke out then in such a manner that he durst go no further.[2]

The establishment at Mont Louis fails again.

The state of peace seemed to Sieur Riverin very favorable for carrying out his project of Sedentary Fisheries at Mont Louis; but as he was not rich enough to bear alone the expense of such an enterprise, and was apparently abandoned by his company, he took in as partners, unfortunately, two Parisians. He then went to Quebec, and having got together some families took them to Mont Louis, in June 1700, and began his fisheries, while awaiting the ship, which his partners had agreed to send him, and which was to bring him fishermen and flour.

The ship arrived indeed on the 8th of July; but too late by six weeks to profit by the fishing season. Nor was this the greatest trouble. His partners had in view only the fur trade, their ideas having been changed by false statements given them. Then those, whom they had sent to

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[1] Callières to Pontchartrain, Oct. 16, 1700. New York Col. Doc., p. 711.

[2] Romer was sent to lay out a fort at Onondaga. N. Y. Col. Doc., iv., p. 440, 641, 681.

look after their interests, seeing that this trade could not bring them in the great profit held out to them, notified the settlers at Mont Louis that they must expect no further aid from them. They went further; for they stripped the settlement of everything they could turn to use, under the pretext that they had advanced the cost of all these things, and thus they ruined all Sieur Riverin's hopes.[1] 1700.

Condition of Acadia.

Acadia, although the English since the promulgation of peace no longer disputed our possession of it, was not in much better state than Mont Louis. The fishery there was constantly abandoned to the New Englanders, who carried on a great trade, and the Chevalier de Villebon lay quiet in his fort at Naxoat, no means being furnished him to do more.[2] This fort even was quite useless as a defence to the few French settlements along the St. John's River, and those in Acadia could receive no assistance from it, yet we had more than once learned by experience, that treaties of peace did not always shield our colonies from attacks from our neighbors.

The establishment at Naxoat transferred to Port Royal.

At last on the representations made to the King's Council on the necessity of fortifying ourselves in that province, his Majesty sent over Mr. de Fontenu,[3] who, after making an exact reconnoissance of the country, advised the abandonment of Naxoat. His reasons were, the frequent inundations of St. John's River preventing permanent settlements; the great difficulty of entering its mouth on account of the variety of winds and the violence of the currents, and the small size of its harbor, which would not allow three ships to anchor there without inconvenience. It was accordingly resolved to transfer this establishment

[1] Mémoire sur l'établissement de Mont Louis, Canada Doc., III., i., p. 344.

[2] Chevalier Villebon died at his fort Naxoat on the St. John's in July of this year 1700. Extract of an account in Travels of Learned Missionaries, London 1714, p. 300; Dièreville, Relation du Voyage, p. 148, 152. Canada Doc., III., ii., p. 418.

[3] He came over apparently in the Avenant, 44, Chevalier de Chavagnac, captain, and sailed back Oct. 6, 1700. Dièreville, Relation, p. 210, 208.

1700. to Port Royal, but by changing its position, no advantage was gained except that of situation, which would indeed have been greater at la Hève or Camceaux. Little or no pains was taken to put it in position to hold out against the English, should they think fit to attack it.[1]

[1] Villieu to the minister, Sept. 27, 1700. Canada Doc., III. ii., p. 427. Histoire Générale de la Nouvelle Ecosse, p. 129. A letter of Sister Chaudron, a Sister of the Congregation of Montreal, who reached Port Royal July, 1701, gives a touching account of the wretched condition of Port Royal. Faillon, Vie de Marguérite Bourgeoys, II. p. 173. On the 12th of January, 1700, died Margaret Bourgeoys, foundress of the Sisters of the Congregation at Montreal, at the age of 80, forty-seven after her arrival in that city. See ante vol. II. p. 250. Faillon, Vie de Marguerite Bourgeoys; Vie de la Sœur Bourgeoys, 1818. Charlevoix at one time contemplated writing her life.

BOOK XVIII.

BOOK XVIII.

Of all the parts of New France no one then engaged the attention of the ministry more than Louisiana; I have already said that de la Sale had given this name to the new discoveries made by him along the Micissipi. Since his unfortunate attempts to discover the mouth of that river by sea, the project had apparently been renounced. At last, in 1697, Mr. d'Iberville, on returning from his Hudson Bay expedition, recalled the attention of the ministry to the point, and led the Count de Pontchartrain to project a fort at the mouth of that great river, which that officer (Iberville) flattered himself he could find.[1] 1700.

This resolution taken, the minister equipped at Rochefort the François and Renommée, giving the command to the Marquis de Chateaumorand and Mr. d'Iberville, both captains of ships of the line.[2] They set sail on the 17th

[1] Mr. French in his Hist. Coll. of Louisiana and Florida gives the proposals for colonizing Louisiana submitted to the French government Dec. 10, 1697, by a Mr. de Remonville.

[2] Charlevoix is in error here. Iberville and Chateaumorand did not sail together, but met by appointment in the West Indies, Iberville in the Badine, 30, and the Chevalier de Surgères in the Marin, 30, left Brest, Oct. 24, 1698, having put back to that port after sailing from Rochelle Sept. 5. Iberville to Pontchartrain, July 3, 1699, MS.; "Journal du Voyage fait par deux fregattes du Roi, la Badine, commandée par Mr. d'Iberville et le Marin par Mr. le Chevalier de Surgères, qui partirent de Brest le vendredi, 24 Octobre, 1698, où elles avoient relaché, etant parties de la Rochelle le 5 Septembre precedent." MS.; Bénard de la Harpe, Journal p. 4, gives the date Sept. 24, erroneously; Peni-

1700. of October[1] in the ensuing year and on the 11th of December anchored off Cap François in St. Domingo.[2] They then proceeded to Leogane to confer with Ducasse, Governor of St. Domingo, who already knew d'Iberville well by reputation,[3] and who, after conversing with him on his projects, wrote to the Count de Pontchartrain that his views and his genius seemed to him to equal his valor and ability in war.[4]

New enterprise to find the mouth of the Micissipi.

On the last day of the year[5] the two captains set sail again and on the 27th of January, 1699, came in sight of the main land of Florida.[6] They ran in as near as possible without risking their vessels on a coast they did not know, and sent the Sieur Lescalette to lay in wood and water and at the same time make inquiries.[7] On his return this officer informed them that they were opposite a bay called Pensacola, where three hundred Spaniards had recently come from Vera Cruz to settle; and it was afterwards known that the object of this settlement was to anticipate the French.[8]

De Chateaumorand and d'Iberville not received at Pensacola.

caut, Relation ou Annales Veritables, Ch. I. § 1, gives the Renommée as Iberville's frigate, and evidently misled Charlevoix. Chateaumorand sailed from France Oct. 15, in the François, accompanied by the Wesp. Journal du Voyage, Dec. 11. Letter of officer on the François in French, p. 21.

Penicaut will always be cited in the notes from a careful copy made under Mr. Margry's direction. French's translation is evidently made from a careless abridgment, with dates and names subsequently supplied or altered from other sources; it cannot be cited with confidence.

[1] Oct. 24, 1698.

[2] Dec. 4, 1698. Journal du Voyage; Bénard de la Harpe p. 4; Penicaut, Relation, Ch. I. § 1.

[3] Du Casse was a captain in the Navy; Bénard de la Harpe p. 4.

[4] On Dec. 11th the François and Wesp came in sight. See note 2, p. 117.

[5] The François, Badine and Marin sailed in company Dec. 31, '98—Jany. 1, '99. Journal du Voyage. The first as escort, Letter of an officer in the François, French p. 21; Bénard de la Harpe, p. 4. Penicaut, writing from memory, says 29th.

[6] They came in sight of land on the 23d. Journal du Voyage, 24th; Officer's Letter.

[7] On the 26th they saw two Spanish vessels in a harbor and the next day Sieur de Lesquelet was sent to reconnoitre. Journal du Voyage.

[8] Journal du Voyage; Bénard de la Harpe, p. 5. The Journal seems to imagine that the Spaniards settled there only four months before; but it was in 1696 that General Andrew de Arriola sailed from Vera Cruz and founded the town of Santa Maria de Galve de Pensacola, with its fort San Carlos. Barcia, Ensayo Cronologico, p. 316. The place took its name from the Penzocolos, an extinct tribe. Ib.

Lescalette had entered the harbor and asked the Governor's permission to take in wood and water; the Governor, on learning on whose behalf he solicited it, had told him that he would send the answer to his commandants, and in fact dispatched his major with him to compliment Messieurs de Chateaumorand and d'Iberville; that officer handed them a letter from his Governor, stating that the two ships of the Most Christian King might in all freedom take in wood and water, and even take shelter where they would; but that he had formal orders to receive no foreign ship into the harbor; that nevertheless as a storm might arise which would force them to enter the bay, he sent them his pilot to take them in. 1700.

The Marquis de Chateaumorand wrote to the Governor by this major that the sea ran so high, that he despaired of finding any other place, where the King's vessels could ride in safety, so that he was compelled to accept his offers.[1] The next day he sent the Sieur Lawrence de Graff, lieutenant of a frigate, whom he had taken on board at Cap François, to sound the entrance to the harbor.[2] Mr. d'Iberville also went in his long boat with the Chevalier de Surgères, and found twenty-one or twenty-two feet in the shallowest part; but the Governor, who had thought the matter over, and was afraid he would be taken to task by the Spanish court, having changed his decision, they had to seek another harbor.[3]

D'Iberville's discoveries.

On the 31st d'Iberville, who had taken the lead to explore the coast, anchored S.S.E. of the eastern point of the Maubile,[4] a great river parallel to the Micissipi, and famous for the bloody victory gained there by Hernando de Soto over the Indians.[5] On the 2nd of July[6] he land-

[1] Journal du Voyage, Jany. 27–8.

[2] A buccaneer (flibustier) famous in the history of St. Domingo, and so formidable to the Spaniards in America under the name of Lorencillo. *Charlevoix.* He joined them Dec. 17. Journal du Voyage.

[3] Journal du Voyage, Jany. 27.

[4] Iberville to Pontchartrain, July 3, 1699, though the Journal du Voyage says he left the vessels outside and went inside the bay in boats.

[5] Garcilasso de la Vega, in his History of the Conquest of Florida, calls the river Mauvilla. *Charlevoix.*

[6] February.

1700. ed on a neighboring island, four leagues in circuit. It had at this time quite a commodious harbor, the mouth of which, then five fathoms deep at all times, was closed some years ago by the sand driven in by a storm. D'Iberville called it Massacre Isle, from his perceiving on the south-west extremity the skulls and bones of about sixty human beings, massacred, as he inferred, with several culinary articles, still entire.[1]

He enters the Micissipi. From Massacre Isle, afterwards called Dauphin Island, he proceeded to the main land, and having discovered the river of the Pascagoulas, where he found many Indians, he set out with the Sieur de Sauvole, ensign on a vessel of the line, his own brother de Bienville, a midshipman, a Recollect Father, forty-eight men on two Biscayennes, and provisions for twenty days, with the view of seeking the Micissipi, of which the Indians had spoken to him under the name of Malbouchia and the Spaniards under that of La Palisada.[2] He at last entered it on the 2nd of March, Quinquagesima Monday, and found that the Spanish name was quite suitable, its mouth all bristling with trees incessantly borne down by the current.[3]

After carefully reconnoitring this long-sought mouth, he proceeded to impart his discovery to the Marquis de Chateaumorand, who followed him slowly, and who having come only to bear him company up to this point, now

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[1] The Journal du Voyage says over 100 skulls. The vessels were earthen pots. See Bénard de la Harpe, p. 6. Penicaut describes the visit to the island as long after, but he may not have been in the first party.

[2] Garcilasso de la Vega calls it Cucagua. *Charlevoix.* The Journal du Voyage does not enumerate the party, nor give the matter in this shape. The two boats under d'Iberville and de Sauvolle started Feb. 27, with 51 men in all. The Recollect was Father Anastasius Douay (ante volume iv.) The Journal of Iberville's voyage gives Malbantia as a name of the river (May 22). The name Paliçada is given in Barcia, Ensayo Cronologico, p. 316.

[3] Charlevoix here omits all events in February, during which Chateaumorand sailed. The Journal du Voyage describes these trees, but does not allude to the Spanish name. Malabouchia has a suspicious resemblance to Malaboca, Spanish words for Bad Mouth. Iberville entered the river at night and on the 3d of March, 1699, Mass was said and a Te Deum chanted.

sailed off in his vessel the François, steering on the 20th of April for St. Domingo.[1] As soon as he hoisted sail, d'Iberville entered the Micissipi, with the view of sailing up that river, and did not get far before he saw how little he could rely on the Relation attributed to the Chevalier de Tonti, and on all those of Father Hennepin which he had already found at fault in regard to Canada and Hudson's Bay. This he stated to the Minister in a letter, of which I have had the original in my hands, and which is preserved in the Dépôt de la Marine.[2] 1700.

Temple of the Bayagoulas.

On his arrival in the village of the Bayagoulas, (the position of which I have noted elsewhere)[3] the chief of these Indians conducted him to a temple, a description of which will not perhaps displease the reader. The roof was decorated with various animal figures, among which a red cock was conspicuous. At the entrance, by way of a portico, there was a shed eight feet broad by eleven long, supported by two stout columns on which rested a cross-piece. On either side of the door were other animal figures, such as bears and wolves and various birds, and at the head of all a chouchouacha, an animal with a head like a sucking pig, and of about the same size; its hair is of the same quality as that of a badger, gray and white: it has a rat's tail, an ape's paws, and the female has under her belly a sack in which she breeds and nourishes her young.[4]

The Indian chief, who was d'Iberville's guide, opened a door only three feet high and two wide, and entered first. This temple was a cabin, built like all the others in the village, in form of a dome somewhat flattened and thirty feet in diameter. In the centre were two logs of dry worm-

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[1] He sailed really Feb. 21. (Journal du Voyage, MS.; d'Iberville to Pontchartrain; Officer's Letter,) and of course before d'Iberville had entered the Mississippi.

[2] Mr. French, in his version of this letter, Hist. Collections Louisiana and Florida, p. 24, substitutes Jesuits for Hennepin. No Jesuit having written, none could be referred to. Charlevoix cites Iberville's autograph letter. There are no reflections in the Journal.

[3] Charlevoix, Journal, p. 436. D'Iberville reached it March 14, and was received by the Chief of the Mongoulachas. D'Iberville to Pontchartrain.

[4] The opossum.

1700. eaten wood, laid end to end, burning and emitting much smoke. At the end of the room was a kind of stage, on which lay several packages of deer, bear and buffalo skins, which had been offered to the chouchouacha, that animal being the god of the Bayagoulas, and being painted in several parts of the temple in red and black.[1]

There was still another temple in the village, which Mr. d'Iberville did not apparently enter, as he says nothing of it in his letter. The village consisted of seven hundred cabins, each holding only one family, and lighted only by the door and an aperture two feet in diameter in the centre of the dome.[2]

D'Iberville finds a letter from the Chevalier de Tonti to Mr. de la Sale.

Thence d'Iberville ascended to the Oumas, where he was received with great cordiality. Yet he still had some doubt whether the river he was on was the Micissipi,[3] because, although he noticed some marks, among the Bayagoulas, which gave him ground to infer that the Chevalier de Tonti had passed there, yet he did not find certain things mentioned in the Relation attributed to that officer.[4] But a letter handed to Mr. de Bienville by an Indian chief, relieved him from this uneasiness. The letter was from the Chevalier de Tonti, and addressed to "Mr. de la Sale, Governor of Louisiana."[5] It began thus:

[1] The Journal du Voyage describes the temple briefly, March 15, 1699. Iberville makes the Baya goula village 64 leagues from the mouth; the Journal, 60.

[2] The Journal makes the population four or five hundred. They were subsequently ravaged by small pox, and by 1722 had disappeared. Charlevoix, Journal, p. 436.

[3] The Journal du Voyage shows that d'Iberville was by no means certain at that time that he was on the Mississippi. Yet he undoubtedly must have had any reports and maps of Beaujeu's possessed by the Department de la Marine. That naval officer, by la Sale's request, (Letter, March, 1685, in Thomassy and in Early Voyages, p. 198,) examined as he sailed back the outlet passed in January, (ante iv., p. 68,) as a chart by Engineer Minet dated May, 1685, still exists in the Archives de la Marine, showing the river as high as New Orleans. (Parkman, Discovery of the Great West, p. 330.) If Iberville was not certain, we cannot assume that Beaujeu was certain that this was really the true mouth of the Mississippi, and therefore acted with premeditated bad faith.

[4] Iberville to Pontchartrain, July 3, 1699. The chief wore some articles given him by Tonti. Journal du Voyage.

[5] This letter was given by the Mongoulaches to Iberville's brother, (Iberville to Pontchartrain,) or to Sauvole, (Journal du Voyage, March

VILLAGE OF THE QUINIPISSAS,[1] April 20, 1685. 1700.

"SIR: Having found the posts on which you had set up the King's arms, thrown down by the driftwood, I have planted another further in, about seven leagues from the sea, where I left a letter in a tree, beside..... All the nations have sung the Calumet to me; they fear us excessively since you defeated this village. I conclude by saying that it is a great disappointment to me, that we should return without the good fortune of meeting you, after two canoes have coasted towards Mexico for thirty leagues and towards Florida for twenty-five," &c.

English on the Micissipi.

Reassured by this letter, d'Iberville returned to Biloxi Bay, which lies between the Micissipi and Maubile, and there built a fort three leagues from the Pascagoulas, and leaving Mr. de Sauvole as commandant, with Bienville as lieutenant, sailed back to France.[2]

He did not remain there long being back again to Biloxi

25,) while Iberville was seeking the other outlet of the river. The date in the letter should be 1686. Parkman, Discovery of the Great West, p. 386. It is not mentioned by Tonti in his Memoires, in Voyages au Nord, v., p. 142: in Margry, Relations, &c., p. 24. It is given in substance in the Journal du Voyage, March 25; Bénard de la Harpe, p. 10. Charlevoix, who gives all we have of it, omits part, probably from state motives.

[1] The Indians called Quinipissas by the Chevalier de Tonti are the Bayagoulas and the Mongoulatchas. *Charlevoix.* The Journal du Voyage says these two formed one village, the chief of the latter ruling the village. Bénard de la Harpe, Journal, p. 10, says that after destroying the Tangibaos (White Corn, Pénicaut) the Quinipissas took the name of Mongoulachas; Sauvole says the Quinipissas and Mongoulachas united under the chief of the Quinipissas. Journal, p. 228. Gravier, Relation du Voyage en 1700, p. 50, Early Voyages up and down the Mississippi, p. 130, who was more familiar with the river tribes, says the Baiagoula chief massacred the Mongoulacha chief and more than 200 men of his tribe who were very friendly to the French.

[2] From the Bayagoulas he went up to the Oumas, and then on the 23d of March sailed down, through the Iberville, reaching his ship on the 31st. He next sought a site for a fort, and after one choice soon abandoned, fixed upon the east point of Biloxi bay where, April 8, he began to cut down trees to build the fort, generally called old Fort Biloxi. De l'Isle (Voyages au Nord, iv., p. 567,) calls it Fort Maurepas. For a description of Biloxi see Charlevoix, Journal, p. 448; Father Anastasius celebrated Easter Sunday (April 19) with mass, vespers and sermon. The fort was completed by the end

1700. on the 8th of January, 1700.[1] On arriving he learned that towards the end of September of the preceding year an English corvette of twelve guns had entered the Micissipi; that Mr. de Bienville, who had gone to sound the mouths of the river,[2] had met this vessel twenty-five leagues from the sea,[3] and had told the commander, that if he did not retire, he was strong enough to compel him; this threat succeeded; but as they retired, the English declared that they would soon return in greater force; that they had discovered the country more than fifty years before, and had a better right than the French.

Possession again formally taken of the river

D'Iberville learned at the same time that other English from Carolina were among the Chickasaws, trading for furs and slaves, and it was afterwards ascertained that they even incited these Indians to kill an ecclesiastic, who was really massacred among the Tonicas.[4] This information

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of the month with 4 bastions, a ditch and 12 guns mounted. (French, Louisiana and Florida Hist. Coll. makes Iberville say 54 guns.) D'Iberville set sail early in May (3d. Iberville to Pontchartrain, July 3, 1699, and Sauvole in Louisiana H. C., iii., p. 223; 4th, La Harpe, p. 14; 8th, Journal du Voyage.) He reached France June 30, (Journal du Voyage) Rochefort, July 2, (Letter to Pontchartrain.) He left Sauvole in command of the fort with Bienville as King's Lieutenant, le Vasseur, Major, de Boisbriand and other officers, and M. de Bordenac, of the Badine, as chaplain, (Letter July 3.) Penicaut, ch. 1, § 3, gives the Jesuit Father du Ru as chaplain, but Charlevoix, Journal, p. 431, says du Ru came on the second voyage.

[1] He came in the Renommée, 50, and La Surgère in the Gironde, 46. They arrived January 5, 1700. Penicaut, ch. ii., § 1; but la Harpe says, Dec. 8, 1699, Journal p. 21.

[2] D'Iberville went up the Mississippi to the Natchez at once, and thence sent down Bienville, who met the English ship; Penicaut, ch. ii.; but Sauvole, p. 229, says the meeting took place Sept. 15.

[3] The river at this place makes a great bend, since then known as the Detour aux Anglois,—The English Turn. *Charlevoix.* The vessel met by Bienville was one of 12 guns under Capt. Barr, which, with another, Capt. Clements, then at the mouth, had been sent out by Daniel Coxe in 1698 to form a settlement. Coxe's Carolana, Preface; Sauvole, Journal, iii., p. 229, 238, Gravier, Journal, p. 61. La Harpe, p. 29, says it was a 16 gun ship, Capt. Barr. He represents Bienville as inducing Barr to believe the Mississippi further on. Coxe says his two ships had 40 cannon and 16 patararoes, and ascribes their failure to the captain of the second ship.

[4] Bénard de la Harpe p. 15; Sauvole, Journal, p. 281; Gravier, Journal, p. 19; Early Voyages up and down the Mississippi, p. 126; Penicaut. The clergyman whose death is here alluded to, is the Rev. Nicholas Foucault, of the Seminary of

decided d'Iberville to renew the taking of possession performed by de la Sale more than twenty years before, and to build on the bank of the river a small fort, in which he planted four guns, and of which he placed his brother Bienville in command. 1700.

This fort was situated almost at the mouth of the river on the eastern side; but did not subsist long.[1] While they were working at it, the Chevalier de Tonti arrived with about twenty Canadians settled in Illinois, and Mr. d'Iberville having spoken to him of the Relation, current under his name, he protested that it was not his, but the work of a Parisian adventurer, who had compiled it from poor materials, and ascribed it to him, to give it vogue and make money.[2]

What drew the English to that country.

It was not possible for Father Hennepin to do the same with his third Relation, for he was known to have been his own publisher. Still there is little doubt, but that the English entered the Micissipi on these very Memoires. "I learn, wrote Mr. de Callieres to Mr. de Pontchartrain,

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Quebec, killed in 1703. Charlevoix, Journal, p. 431. See Bénard de la Harpe, pp. 73, 87, and Penicaut, as to the date of Foucault's death.

[1] Bienville was sent down to Fort Biloxi to get materials for the fort on the Mississippi. He selected a spot, Jan'y 10, 1700, and Iberville began it, Jan'y 19. B. de la Harpe, pp. 25–6. Father du Ru erected a cross, Feb. 14 said mass and blessed a burial spot. Gravier, Journal, p. 68. It is said to have been at Poverty Point, 38 miles below New Orleans. Charlevoix on a map in his Journal, and Jefferys in one in his French Dominions, call it Fort de la Boulaye; but I do not find this name in contemporary Journals nor on de l'Isle's maps of 1700, 1703 or 1718. After working on it a fortnight he planted a 6 gun battery and landed supplies. Gravier reached it Dec. 17, 1700, and says there was simply a 6 gun battery, no fort, bastion, intrenchment or redoubt, 5 or 6 cabins, a small house for Bienville. Gravier, Journal p. 53; Sauvole, p. 232. It was abandoned the next year.

[2] The work here referred to appeared in 1697. "Dernières Découvertes dans l'Amérique Septentrionale de M. de la Salle," and may be found in Voyages au Nord, vol. v. Although repudiated by Tonty, it must have been based on papers of his. His avowed Memoire is in Margry, Relations, and in English in Louisiana H. C., vol. i. Tonty started with Rev. Mr. Montigny's company in Sept. 1698, and left them at the Arkansas in Dec. Relation de la Mission du Mississippi p. 43; Early Voyages, p. 73; In July following, Messrs. Montigny and Davion visited Biloxi, Sauvole's Journal p. 227, and took back a letter for Tonty, on which he came down and met d'Iberville, Feb. 16, 1700. Sauvole, p. 233: Bénard de la Harpe, p. 25.

1700. May 2nd, 1699, that vessels are fitting out in England and Holland to go and settle Louisiana, on the work of the Recollect Father Louis Hennepin, who made a book on the subject and dedicated it to King William."

Pretensions of the English, their designs and attempts.

In a second letter, written a month after the former, the General informed the same minister that he had been assured that the King of Great Britain, in his inability to support the French refugees in England, had the previous autumn sent a considerable number in three ships to take possession of the Micissipi, and that twenty Englishmen from New York had started for the Illinois, pretending that all the country to the south belonged to them. In fact, in October 1698, three ships sailed from London for Louisiana, but put in at Carolina, whence, some time after, two of them, of 12 and 24 guns, continued their voyage.

They went to the western extremity of the Gulf of Mexico for the Micissipi, their maps placing that great river there. Not finding it, they sailed back eastwardly, hugging the shore till they at last discovered the object of their search. The smaller of the two entered the river, and was the one driven out by de Bienville. The other returned to the west and pushed on to the province of Panuco in New Spain. Thus the French colony of Louisiana, in its very cradle, was menaced by two powerful neighbors, equally jealous of the new settlement, namely the Spaniards, who could not suffer any interference with their possession of the Gulf of Mexico, so long regarded by them as their domain; and the English, whose proximity, enterprising character and vast pretensions rendered them still more formidable.

Beside the design formed by the English King of throwing on the Micissipi a large number of French refugees then in Carolina, and of whom that colony would be glad to be rid, after deriving great services from them, that prince also wished thereby to establish his right to that great river, which afforded him a convenient naval station in the Gulf of Mexico; but this should have induced the Spaniards to be less unfavorable to our settlement, which

could give them less umbrage than the vicinity and immense power of the English, against whom we now act as a barrier for them. 1700.

The French refugees offer to settle the country.

On the other hand the French refugees, in whom English ill-treatment had perhaps revived love of country, would willingly have seized the opportunity to secure to their lawful prince the possession of that fine country, and one of them, who was on board the English vessel referred to, made no secret of it to Mr. de Bienville. He told him that every soul of them earnestly desired his Most Christian Majesty to permit them to settle under his protection in Louisiana, where he would always find them most faithful subjects; that on their side they asked only liberty of conscience; this granted, they would soon come in great numbers, and guarantee to render that great territory a most flourishing country in a few years.

Their offer rejected.

This proposal was not to the taste of Louis XIV., who had decided not to suffer either in his kingdom, or in the colonies dependent on it, any religion but his own. After the death of that great prince, these same refugees renewed their offers to the Duke of Orleans, regent of the kingdom, who rejected them for the same reasons that influenced the King his uncle, as I learned at the very time from the late Marshal d'Etrées, who had strongly advocated that policy in Council.[1]

Conduct of the Spaniards in regard to Louisiana. French errors.

The Spaniards did not act as openly as the English did against a settlement which gave them such umbrage; but they seem to have acted more adroitly to check its progress and prevent its being solidly planted. In fact, down to these last days they have succeeded, by the bait of a small and unprofitable trade, in retaining us between the Micissipi, which we have neglected to settle, and Pensacola, on a sandy hill, (Biloxi,) on an island (Dauphin) as worthless, and on a river (Maubile) which it was well enough to secure, but which should not have been made a great ob-

[1] This Huguenot proposal to settle in Louisiana was given to Bienville in writing by M. Secon, a French engineer on Barr's vessel, Bénard de la Harpe, Journal, p. 19, Sauvole's Journal, p. 238.

1700. ject, for it must be avowed that on this occasion d'Iberville forgot himself; or if he had other views, had not time to carry out his project, having been subsequently taken up with other expeditions.

It is certain that this officer, after completing his fort on the Micissipi, and ascending that river to the Natchés where he projected founding a city to be called Rosalie, as I have noted elsewhere,[1] returned to Biloxi Bay, where he established the headquarters of his new colony. The Spaniards made no opposition, and the commandants from the two nations had in this apparently the same aim, with this difference, that one did good service to his King by amusing the French with trade; and the other, while waiting to be put in a position to do better for the interests of his prince, thought that he might at least not neglect his own interest.[2] Be that as it may, the Governor of Pensacola declared to the Chevalier de Surgéres, when that officer went to ask leave to enter his port, that he had orders to prevent the English and all companies from settling in the neighborhood of the Micissipi; but not to refuse to receive in his port vessels of the King of France, and he required him to exhibit his commission, to assure him that he was in the service of his Most Christian Majesty, whereupon d'Iberville, in a letter to the Count de Pontchartrain observes to the minister, that in the opinion of men most versed in American affairs, Louisiana would never be settled unless trade was thrown open to all the merchants in the kingdom.

Object of Louisiana trade.

The two great objects of this trade at that time were the wool to be obtained from the bison,[3] and the pearl fisheries. Both were expressly noted in Iberville's instructions. "One of the great objects," they say, "proposed to the King, when he was urged to discover the mouth of the Micissipi, was to obtain wool from the cattle of that coun-

[1] Charlevoix, Journal, p. 414.

[2] For Iberville's trading operations here delicately hinted at, see Gov. de Calliere's report. N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 712. He bought a quantity of furs from men who ran off with them from the west and came down the Mississippi, to the loss of the owners in Canada.

[3] Bœufs du pays.

try; and for this purpose these animals must be tamed and parked, and calves sent to France. Although the pearls presented to his Majesty are not fine either in water or shape, they must nevertheless be carefully sought, as others may be found, and his Majesty desires Mr. d'Iberville to bring all he can; ascertain where the fishery is carried on, and see it in operation." 1700.

It was soon admitted that the pearl fisheries were not worth the trouble of prosecuting;[1] but we do not yet well understand why the first object has been hitherto neglected, not only for the wool,[2] but also for the leather, or what has prevented multiplying these cattle in France. At all events, it was not Iberville's fault, as before his return to France, he issued wise orders on the point, which were never enforced.

The King had also adopted excellent measures for carrying the light of the gospel to the different tribes dwelling on the banks of the Micissipi, and then much more numerous than now. D'Iberville took over the Jesuit Fathers Dongé and Du Ru, and Father Limoges came from Canada; but the Bishop of Quebec, whose diocese already the most extensive in Christendom, had just been augmented by a country larger than France, exacted from them conditions which were unsuited to them: moreover, Mr. de Montigny, and two other clergymen from the Seminary of the Foreign Missions, had come from Quebec to Louysiana, with all the bishop's powers. The Jesuits thought that they could see an indisposition in these clergymen to act in concert with them, and received orders from their Superiors to retire.[3]

The King's interest in the instruction of the Louisiana Indians.

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[1] The pearls were found on the river of the Pascagoulas, and the Pearl evidently derives its name from them.

[2] This idea of making bison wool an article of trade, runs all through la Salle's documents, but never seems to have been for a moment seriously thought of in America, although it quite took the fancy of many. Remonville's proposals alluded to the wool and to the domestication of the bison, but do not mention the pearl fisheries.

[3] The Mission of the Seminary of Quebec on the Mississippi, was established by Bishop de St. Valier, May 1, 1698. The Rev. Francis Jolliet de Montigny was appointed Superior and Vicar-General and set out

1700.

Character of the Illinois.

Other missionaries of their Society had for some years directed quite a flourishing church among the Illinois, (who were not then, as now, considered as embraced in the Louisiana government;) and they have ever since continued to instruct that nation, in whom Christianity had already produced a change such as she alone can produce in morals and disposition. Before that time, there were perhaps no Indians in any part of Canada with fewer good qualities and more vices. They have always been mild and docile enough; but they were cowardly, treacherous, fickle, deceitful, thievish, brutal, destitute of faith or honor, selfish, addicted to gluttony and the most monstrous lust, almost unknown to the Canada tribes, who accordingly despised them heartily, but the Illinois were not a whit less haughty or self-complacent on that account.

Such allies could bring no great honor or assistance to the French. Yet we never had any more faithful, and, if we except the Abénaqui tribes, they are the only tribe who never sought peace with their enemies to our prejudice They did indeed see the necessity of our aid to defend themselves against several nations, who seemed to have sworn their ruin, and especially against the Iroquois and Foxes, who, by constant harassing, have somewhat trained them to war, the former taking home from their expedi-

for the west in the summer of 1698, with Rev. Messrs. Anthony Davion, and John B. de St. Come. The last began his labors among the Tamarois, an Illinois tribe, in 1699, as Davion did among the Tonicas. Relation de la Mission du Micissipi. (N. York, 1861.) De la Potherie, iv., p. 102. Montigny chose the Taensas, and St. Come took up his residence among the Natchez before March, 1700. (La Harpe, Journal, p. 28.) As we have seen, Montigny and Davion visited Sauvole's fort soon after Iberville's departure, (ante p. 125.) The Seminary was thus established in its missions on the Micissipi before the arrival of Father du Ru and Dongé, who came on d'Iberville's second voyage. The former was not apparently fitted for a delicate position, and Sauvole complains greatly of his course. Father Dongé died at Mobile in 1704. St. Come was killed in 1707, and Rev. N. Foucault, one of his associates, between 1702 and 1704, (see ante.) Mr. de Montigny soon retired, and though Mr. Davion labored for some years, the missions were all abandoned except the Tamarois, which still belongs to the Seminary of Quebec. See Shea's Hist. Catholic Missions, pp. 439–445

tions against the Illinois only the vices of that corrupt nation.[1] 1700.

But it was Christianity, which they sincerely embraced, that completely bound the Illinois nation to our interest. Add to this the firmness of the Chevalier de Tonti, and the sagacious conduct of the Sieurs de la Forêt[2] and Delietto, the latter a relative of Chevalier de Tonti. These three officers long commanded in the country of the Illinois, and acquired a great ascendency over their minds.

First settlement among the Illinois.

Before the first discovery of the Micissipi, the Illinois were scarcely known in Canada,[3] Father Marquette and Sieur Joliet on their way down that river passed by some of their towns, where they were very well received, and Father Marquette when he died was preparing to go and settle among them.[4] Then la Sale, preparing to complete the discovery begun by that missionary, first thought of establishing posts among the Miamis and Illinois to serve as centres for his trade. As he had several Recollect Fathers with him, it was his design that they should establish a mission among the Illinois; but they were always too much employed among the French and too much diverted by the excursions which de la Sale compelled them to

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[1] Others drew a more favorable picture of the Illinois. Compare Rale and Marest in the Lettres Edifiantes; Marest, in Relation des Affaires du Canada, p. 43; Penicaut, Relation.

[2] Francis Daupin, Sieur de la Forest. Parkman, Discovery of the Great West, p. 188.

[3] They are first met at Chagoimegon in 1667 by Allouez, and soon after by Marquette, who projected an Illinois mission. Allouez afterwards found some on the Fox River, and Marquette, soon after entering the Mississippi by the Wisconsin, in June 1673, found the Peorias and Moingwena, two Illinois tribes, on the western bank of the river. On his way up, he met the Peorias and then the Kaskaskias on the Illinois River. He began the mission promising to return. Having obtained the necessary permission, he set out in Sept. 1674, wintered at Chicago, reached the Kaskaskia town and again preached to them, but finding his illness increase, endeavored to reach Michilimackinac, but died on the way May, 19, 1675. In 1677, Allouez was there laboring, and continued till 1679, retiring on la Sale's approach.

[4] Had just visited them; see Discovery and Exploration of the Mississippi, p. 53; Dablon, Relation, 1673–9, p. 100. Compare ante, iii., p. 182.

1700. make, to gain any proselytes among these Indians, whose language they had not even time to learn.[1]

After their departure, and that of de la Sale, the Chevalier de Tonti was left sole commandant among the Illinois, and Father Allouez, whom we have had frequent occasion to mention in this history, and who had settled among the Miamis, had more than one opportunity to visit that nation, and wished to see whether he would find in them a greater disposition to receive the gospel, than he met among those whom he had for some years cultivated with but little fruit; but he soon perceived that they had even less, or that intercourse with the French raised more obstacles to their conversion, and he returned to his mission on St. Joseph's River, where he died full of days and merit.[2]

Mission among these Indians.

At last various events, disposed doubtless by Providence, and also the news of la Sale's death having scattered the French among the Illinois, Father Gravier deemed the moment favorable for laboring for the salvation of that nation. He took up his residence at the Rock, at the very spot where Fort St. Louis had been.[3] There ere long he gathered quite a numerous flock, and soon had the consolation of seeing among these Indians, hitherto so justly decried for their corrupt life, examples of virtue as striking as had been admired in the most flourishing missions in Canada, and the few survivors of that nation, formerly one

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[1] The Recollect Fathers, Gabriel de la Ribourde, Zenobius Membré, Louis Hennepin, were among the Illinois from January 1680; the last till he set out for the upper Mississippi, the former till September, when Tonti and his party retreated. On the way Father Gabriel was killed by the Kickapoos, Sept. 19. Le Clercq, Etablissement de la Foi, ii., p. 173–9. The place of his death is said to be near Crow Creek, Marshall Co. Ford's History of Putnam and Marshall Counties. See ante, vol. iii., p. 212.

[2] Claude Allouez died about August 1690; ante, iii., p. 186. His last visit to the Illinois that we know was in 1687. Tonti, Memoire in Margry, Relation, &c., Louisiana Hist. Coll., i., p. 70.

[3] Near the present village of Utica. Parkman, Discovery of the Great West, pp. 204–5, 221.

of the most numerous on the continent, now profess Christianity.[1] 1700.

Fruitless mission among the Mascoutins

The labors among the Mascoutins met with less success. The Sieur Juchereau,[2] a Canadian gentleman, had begun a post at the mouth of the Ohio (Ouabache) River, which empties into the Micissipi, constituting the shortest and most convenient communication between Canada and Louisiana, and a great many of these Indians had settled there. To retain them he had persuaded Father Mermet, one of the Illinois missionaries, to endeavor to gain them to Christ; but that missionary found an indocile tribe, excessively superstitious, despotically ruled by medicine-men. He thought that if he could succeed in converting or in publicly confounding these impostors, he would easily succeed with the multitude, and he undertook one, who adored the bison, which he had taken as his manitou. He put him several questions that embarrassed him; he raised difficulties which he could not meet; at last he forced him to say that the bison was not his god, but the spirit who protects the whole species of those animals, and who dwells under the earth. This avowal was already something gained; but when the missionary sought to use it to bring his adversary to a knowledge of an eternal omnipotent Spirit, who created the world, and whom all men who are the work of his hands, should alone adore, he beheld a man who lost all sense, and spoke nothing but extravagance.

An epidemic which soon after broke out in this village and carried off a great many Indians, gave Father Mer-

[1] Father James Gravier was there also in 1687. Father Sebastian Rale followed in 1692 (Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses). In 1693 Gravier resumed his labors and was assisted by Julian Binneteau and Francis Pinet, both of whom died a few years after, and by Gabriel Marest. Gravier, Relation de la Mission des Illinois, 1693; Lettres Edifiantes: Relation de la Mission du Mississippi, 1696, &c. pp. 21–34; 43–64. Marquette and Allouez labored among the Kaskaskias; Gravier began his labors among the Peorias near the French fort, and built his chapel in 1693. Relation, p. 6.

[2] I find nothing to enable us to tell which of the Juchereaus this was. Some of the family preceded Juchereau de St. Denys on the Mississippi, so that he is not probably here referred to.

1700. met an opportunity to practice that charity, which is often more efficacious in converting nations than the most pathetic exhortations. He spared himself in naught; but his charity was repaid by most with ingratitude: attempts were even made on his life, and he beheld arrows fall at his feet, shot from too great a distance to harm him.

Not disheartened, he continued to visit the sick, he distributed among them all the remedies at his command, and at last some predestined souls were touched by his perseverance, courage and disinterestedness. He baptized a small number of these Indians, and had the satisfaction of seeing them expire in the sentiments with which he had inspired them. All the others became more and more hardened, and when, after repeated sacrifices to their manitous, they saw no decline in the mortality, they imagined that the Manitou of the Christians was killing them; for these tribes do not hesitate to admit that their tutelary spirits have far less power than ours.

Under this conviction one of their chiefs went around the French post imploring mercy from the Manitou of the Christians, and from the missionary, whom he also regarded as a manitou. Father Mermet at once went to the actor of this comic scene, and assured him that he would redouble his care of the sick. But these hardened men continuing by their superstitious ceremonies and by their indocility to provoke the wrath of heaven against them, the epidemic ran its course and carried off more than half the village. The rest dispersed, and Juchereau saw that founding a post on a casual and transient trade, without introducing agriculture, was building it on sand: but want of men and means soon forced him to abandon his enterprise.[1]

While the court of France was taking the steps men-

[1] Marest, Letter of Nov. 9, 1712, in Lettres Edifiantes, vol. xi. and earlier letters in Relation des Affaires du Canada, p. 31. Juchereau went to the Ohio after Le Sueur abandoned his fort on Blue Earth River. That was begun Oct. 1 1700, and abandoned in 1702; compare la Harpe, and Penicaut. Canada Doc., II. ii., p. 378, Nov. 3, 1702.

tioned in the beginning of this book, to make a strong settlement on the Gulf of Mexico, de Callieres labored successfully to restore peace to his province. The point was to secure the alliance of all the tribes with whom we could have any cause of rupture, and this required him to prevent anything that could interfere with the establishment of a general good understanding so essential to their preservation and the tranquillity of the French colony. 1700.

De Callieres' measures for a general peace.

The treaty to which the General obtained the signatures of the deputies of the Iroquois cantons, and of some of our allies,[1] was only a preliminary, which might indeed remove the greatest obstacles to the consummation of so great a work; but it was still necessary to convene the chiefs of all the nations interested, and this was no easy task. The wise and well devised steps taken by de Callieres to ensure success to the finest design yet formed by any Governor of New France, had well-nigh been thwarted by one of those accidents, more easily foreseen than prevented, when the Indian disposition is known.

New collisions between the Iroquois and the Ottawas.

The Iroquois deputies had scarcely returned home, before news came in that some Ottawas had fallen on a party of their hunters, killed some, and taken the most important man in the party prisoner.[2] It was a fact; but the aggressors were less to blame than was supposed. The Iroquois had gone on the Ottawa lands to hunt, that is to say, in a district where the latter were accustomed to hunt, and had destroyed a number of beaver huts. The Ottawas had taken this for an act of hostility, as it really was, and deemed it their right to do themselves justice.

The Iroquois complain to de Callieres.

The Iroquois however complained loudly, and there was little doubt but that they would take up arms again. It needed no more to re-kindle throughout the whole continent the scarce extinguished flames of war. Still, as their delegates had pledged their word to the Governor-General, that, come what would, they would not retaliate, without

[1] See N. Y Col. Doc., ix., p. 715, Sept. 8, 1700.

[2] Tanesthioni, a Seneca chief was taken. De la Potherie, iv., p. 177. See also pp. 132–3 N. Y. Mss. Eng. xliv., p. 179.

1701. first notifying him, they made it a point for the first time to keep their word, and sent to complain to him of the Ottawa attack.

New complaints of the Iroquois.

The delegates appointed arrived at Montreal on the 2nd of March, 1701, and there found the Chevalier de Callieres. They addressed him with great moderation, and after stating the case, in as black colors as possible, against the Ottawas, added: "This blow has undoubtedly been struck by some giddy brave; but till his nation disavows it, they are deemed to authorize it. Still, as you have ordered us to apply to you, should anything of the kind occur, we come to beg you to begin by having restored to us the chief who has been led away a prisoner to Michilimackinac."

They then endeavored to justify their hunters, and the Governor-General, who deemed it inexpedient to enter into the discussion, confined himself to replying that the Ottawas, when they had attacked their people, were as yet uninformed of the treaty concluded the previous autumn; that he would take care to make them give up their prisoner, and that they should lose nothing by confiding all their interests to him.[1] This reply, accompanied by many tokens of friendship, satisfied them; but on the 5th of May Teganissorens arrived, followed by several Iroquois chiefs, and after renewing the complaints of the cantons about the hostility committed during the winter, and on what they had heard of a projected French settlement at Detroit,[2] he asked him whether it was true, as they began to report, that war was on the point of being re-kindled in Europe between the French and English.

In regard to the Ottawa hostilities, de Callieres repeated his reply to the former delegates: in reference to Detroit he told him that he did not see why that establishment

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[1] See belts of Tsioueioui and Tieugonentaguete, Onondaga chiefs, March 2d, and de Callieres' reply. De la Potherie, iv., pp. 177–182. They claimed the peninsula at Fort Frontenac to have been their hunting ground from the creation.

[2] What is called Detroit (i.e. Strait) is all the communication between Lake Erie and Lake Huron. *Charlevoix.* See as to Teganissorens De la Potherie, iv., pp. 183–4.

should disquiet the cantons, neither they nor the English having any right to gainsay it, as Detroit belonged to him; that his object in this enterprise was to maintain peace among all the nations; that he had already enjoined on the officer who was to represent him there, to settle all the difficulties that might arise among any of the allies, before they were carried to any unpleasant extremity; but above all to leave, and even secure to all, freedom in hunting. 1701.

Teganissorens had added that the English had already formed the same design of settling at Detroit, and that the cantons had opposed it; de Callieres either was aware of this, or afraid that the English might take up the idea, and this was what he wished to traverse. He told Teganissorens that he was obliged to the cantons for thinking as he said in regard to the English: that he could easily prevent their usurping a country that did not belong to them. "As for me," he continued, "I assume to be master at home; but wish to be so, only for the good of my children: it is for their sake I toil, establishing a post at Detroit; it is only ill-disposed minds that can take umbrage at this design, and I am convinced that one day you will thank me for executing it."

Teganissorens did not reply on this point; but he said, that as he had concealed nothing from his Father, he was very glad to inform him, that when he reported his answer to the sachems, the latter would not fail to make it known to the English forthwith; that he hoped, nevertheless, that if the two nations again came to variance in Europe and America, the cantons would not take part in this quarrel. "I care very little," replied de Callieres, "whether the English are informed or not of what I wish to do at Detroit; I know that they will disapprove it; that they will even make many efforts to thwart it; all I ask of you is to remain mere spectators of what may arise between them and me."[1]

[1] For Teganissorens' report of his conference, as presented to the Lieut. Gov. of New York, see N. Y. Col. Doc., iv., p. 891.

1701.

The English again traverse the peace.

This Teganissorens promised, and he begged de Callieres to send some Frenchmen to Onondaga to assist their deputies in restoring the prisoners still in the country. De Callieres condescended to this for his sake, and on his return he was accompanied by the same ambassadors who had opened this negotiation the preceding year. They set out on the 16th of June,[1] and were somewhat surprised to find Englishmen among those who came out to meet them. In fact one Abraham had gone in behalf of the Governor of Orange, (Albany,) to Onondaga to divert the sachems from sending their deputies to Montreal, and to induce them to come to him.[2]

No answer had yet been given him, and this envoy, seeing the young braves of the canton preparing to go to meet the French, thought it best to send some of his people, under pretext of courtesy to the ambassadors, as well as to furnish them horses. In this first interview nothing was said; nothing passed except compliments; but the ambassadors had scarcely entered the town, where they were received in the same manner as the year previous, when the council assembled and they were introduced alone.[3]

Father Bruyas began by declaring that Ononthio would no longer suffer postponements, and that he was anxious to know what to depend on with the cantons; that deputies of all the nations would meet at Montreal without fail at the appointed day, to conclude the important business commenced the previous autumn, and that if the Iroquois were not there, they would no longer be listened to; that

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[1] De la Potherie, iv., p. 186, says that Father Bruyas, Maricour, Joncaire and la Chauvignerie, set out June 19, 1701, with 20 Frenchmen, Massias and Grande Gueule's son.

[2] Bellomont having died, Lt. Gov. Nanfan, June 2d, sent to Onondaga Capt. Johannes Bleecker, Jr. and David Schuyler, with Lawrence Claese as interpreter. See their Journal, N. Y. Col. Doc., iv., pp. 889–895. Charlevoix here follows de la Potherie, iv., p. 187, who supposes four deputies, one Abraham being the leader; in the Index, Charlevoix has Abraham Schuyler; see ante, p. 80. They say that they did not accompany the Onondagas who went forward to Kaneeda, eight miles from Onondaga, to meet the French deputies.

[3] The English account says "they came in June 22 in great triumph with the French flagg."

they should especially remember their promise made to their Father to restore to him all the prisoners; that a great event which had recently happened in Europe might early renew the war between the French and English; but that it was not the interest of the cantons to take any part in the contest.[1] 1701.

Reply of those Indians.

After this address they adjourned; three days after, the council met again to reply to it, and the English were invited. Teganissorens first handed a wampum belt to Abraham to exhort him not to traverse the arrangement he was about to conclude with the French. He even added some reproaches against the English, to whom he imputed all the past misfortunes. He then laid another belt at the feet of Father Bruyas, saying that he gave liberty to all the prisoners still in his cantons. "I open all the doors," he proceeded; "I stop no one; I wish to live on good terms with my Father Ononthio, and with my brother Corlar; I hold each by the hand, determined never to part with either. Five delegates are about to set out for Montreal, two others will go to Albany; I myself will remain on my mat, to show all the world that I take no side, and wish to preserve a strict neutrality."

Several ill-disposed.

Father Bruyas and Mr. de Maricourt, who had sent Joncaire to Seneca and la Chauvignerie to Oneida, thought such a declaration ground for all hope, and their confidence was heightened by the arrival of the Sieur de Villedonné, lieutenant in the infantry, with the news that Father Anjelran was at Montreal, having pushed on ahead to notify the Governor-General that delegates from all the nations would forthwith reach him; but la Chauvignerie returning from Oneida, reported that he found that canton quite ill disposed, and that he had been unable to recover a single prisoner.

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[1] The event alluded to was the death of Charles, King of Spain, who left his crown to Philip, grandson of Louis XIV. The Emperor of Germany, however, laid claim to it, and all Europe was involved in the war of the Spanish Succession. The French in Canada earnestly endeavored to obtain neutrality between the European colonies in America, and proposed it at this time, N. Y. MSS. Eng. xliv., p. 119, or at least an agreement not to use Indians in case of war.

1701. At the same time Teganissorens declared that the French who were in his canton, having all been adopted and most of them having married there, their relatives would not hearken to the idea of releasing them; that the prisoners could not bring themselves to such a separation; that it was not in his power to compel either to do what was desired of them; and that he was in despair to find himself under the stern necessity of breaking his word to his Father. It would have been useless for the ambassadors to reply. They had to put up with this excuse, bad as it was. It was much indeed for an Indian to stoop to frame excuses for what he was unwilling to do, and any one but Teganissorens, who was sincerely attached to the French, but was not master, would perhaps have spoken with less consideration.

De Maricourt and Father Bruyas deemed it best to dissemble their dissatisfaction, so as to avoid an open rupture with a nation which, secure of English support, (their intrigues probably raising all these difficulties,) was still in a condition to do much mischief. Thus these Indians found, in what seems to us a defect in their government, an advantage that the most refined statesmanship does not always attain. That is to say, the independence enjoyed by individuals, not only does not prevent their contributing to the general good, but even makes them attain it by ways all the surer from the natural irresponsibility for their conduct, and finds its excuse in the limited authority it has over the free will of those who compose it.

The deputies of the cantons at Montreal

Joncaire had been more successful among the Cayugas and Senecas; he brought deputies and some prisoners; and this example, used by Maricourt to excite the emulation of the Onondagas, induced those Indians to restore five French people of both sexes.[1] The Oneidas also sent

[1] For the French account of these negotiations see de la Potherie, iv., pp. 187–192: The English in N. Y. Col. Doc., iv., pp. 889–895. This last account represents six women prisoners to have been given up. The Iroquois were by English admission in fear of the French, and Nanfan in his Conference at Albany, July 18, 1701, by words and presents of arms, urged them to renew hostilities at once. N. Y. Col.

deputies to Gannentaha, which Father Bruyas had already reached; the Mohawk deputies promised to come down by Lake Champlain, and the ambassadors, followed by two hundred Iroquois, set out for Montreal, where they arrived on the 21st of July.[1] 1701.

Followed by the deputies of our allies.

The next day seven or eight hundred Indians from the territories on the north and west also landed. Both were received with salvos of artillery, and the Rat, orator and chief of the delegation from the Hurons of Michilimackinac, in whom de Callieres confided for the entire management of our allies, paid that Governor a very fine compliment in the name of all. On the 25th de Callieres began to converse in private with all the deputies, and had no little to do to bring them all to his wishes; but to understand the disposition of the majority it is necessary to state briefly the difficulties encountered by the Sieur de Courtemanche and Father Anjelran in their negotiation.

The disposition of our allies.

On reaching Michilimackinac they found most of the Indians off hunting; this compelled them to dispatch runners to inform them of the object of their coming. Courtemanche, leaving his colleague at that post to negotiate with the Ottawas and Hurons, then proceeded to St. Joseph's River, which he reached December 21st, 1700, having gone forty leagues in snow-shoes.

There he found, besides the Miamis long residents at the place, Pottowatamies, Sokokis,[2] Foxes, Hurons and Mohegans[2] (Mahingans).

He learned that the two first of these nations had sent war-parties against the Iroquois, and that the Miamis were preparing to do the same. By threat of the Governor-General's indignation he induced the last, not only to hold back their braves, but also to send after the others and induce them to march back. He found it more difficult to bring them to terms in regard to the Iroquois pris-

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Doc., iv., p. 900. He at the same time got from the sachems a deed of nearly all Upper Canada and other parts of the west. See deed, Ib. pp. 908–911.

[1] De la Potherie, iv., p. 194. He witnessed and describes their reception at Sault St. Louis by the Christian Iroquois.

[2] From New England.

1701. oners, whom they had adopted, and could not bring themselves to give up. He succeeded, however, and all promised to come to Montreal at the appointed time.

This done, he started for the Illinois, whom he reached on the 28th; all except the Kaskaskias were on the point of taking the war-path against the Iroquois, and he diverted them by the same means that he had employed to retain the Miamis. The Kaskaskias also thought of marching with the Ottawas against the Cansès, a Louisiana tribe, and he stopped them. Returning then to Chicago, where he found some Weas (Ouyatanons) a Miami tribe, who had sung the war-song against the Sioux and against the Iroquois, he obliged them to lay down their arms and extorted a promise to send deputies to Montreal.

On the 5th of May he reached the Mascoutins, who were making great preparations for war, and he had great difficulty in winning them over, though he at last succeeded. He continued his route towards (Green) Bay, where he arrived on the 14th; there he found Sacs, Otchagras, commonly called Puants, Malhomines, more generally called Folles Avoines, Foxes, Pottowatamies and Kicapoos. He addressed each nation in private, then assembled all, and after much discussion, he stopped three hundred braves, about to take the field to rush upon the Sioux, who had recently made an incursion into the Foxes, and from each of these tribes he obtained deputies for the general peace.

De Courtemanche's journey.

On the 2nd of July he returned to Michilimackinac, after a journey of more than four hundred leagues. There he found all things well arranged by the care of Father Anjelran, who had rescued from the hands of the Ottawas, two Iroquois, quite recently taken on some expedition not mentioned. They agreed between them that the missionary should set out for Montreal with the two prisoners, and that de Courtemanche should wait at Michilimackinac for the deputies whom he had not brought along.

That officer's presence was also necessary at that post, to dissipate the difficulties raised by restless Indians in regard to the restitution of the other Iroquois prisoners,

some wishing to use them to treat in private with the cantons, and the others to cause a rupture. At last Courtemanche overcame all obstacles, and embarked on a fleet of one hundred and forty-four canoes, thirty of which had to put back on account of sickness.[1] 1701.

Preliminary conference.

The Governor-General, as remarked, before giving any public audience, saw all the deputies in private; yet he had first held a preliminary conference, in which John le Blanc,[2] chief of the Ottawas du Sable, made his presents to Ononthio, spoke with much ability, and was loudly applauded by all present. Other Algonquin chiefs[3] also spoke, and their words all concluded with a request for a reduction of the prices of goods, and for a market for their smaller peltries, as the beaver began to grow scarce.

The Rat then presented his Iroquois prisoners, asked why the cantons had not restored theirs, and said that their disobedience to the orders of their Father showed clearly that they were not acting in good faith. Onanguicé and Ouilamek, Pottawatamie chiefs, spoke after the Huron, and said, in the name of all the western tribes,[4] that on learning their Father's wishes, nothing could prevent their coming to him, not even the current rumor that diseases prevailed at Montreal. The Miami chief[5] spokn in the same tone, adding, the better to show his devotion to his Father Ononthio, that he had ransomed several Iroquois prisoners, to restore to him. He also presented a calumet for all the nations to smoke, he said, and declared that if he made peace with the Iroquois, it was not

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[1] As to these French envoys, see de la Potherie, iv., p. 175, &c.

[2] He was so called, because his mother was as white as a Frenchwoman. Some Relations call him Talon. *Charlevoix.* De la Potherie gives Outoutaga, as his real name. He was son of a chief whom de Courcelle named Talon. Sheldon's Michigan, p. 235.

[3] Eloaouessen, chief of the Nansoakouatons; Hassaky, chief of the Ottawa Kiskakons; Chingouessi, chief of the Ottawa Sinagos.

[4] Winnebagoes, Foxes, Maskoutins, Menomonees, Amikois and Pottawotamies.

[5] Chichikatalo, a noble-looking and good man. De la Potherie, iv., p. 207. He died soon after the treaty was signed, Ib. p. 262.

1701. because he feared him, but out of obedience to his Father.

De Callieres gives audience to several deputies.

The next day Onanguicé solicited a private audience with the Chevalier de Callieres, and having obtained it, introduced the deputies of the Sacs. These Indians had made war on the Sioux in spite of his orders, and a Frenchman had been killed by one of their party. They had sent to ask pardon from the Governor-General, who granted it with no condition but that they should not fall again into the same fault. Their deputies wished to thank him for this favor and make him presents to cover the dead, and they had requested Onanguicé, who was much liked by the French, to introduce them.

Many other chiefs also solicited secret audiences, and the Governor-General refused none. Some of them rather embarrassed him, but when he saw himself pressed he extricated himself by promises, and by his mild and engaging words. It was one of his great qualities, and he dismissed none without regaling them well. John le Blanc was the one who gave him most trouble. This Indian possessed much talent, and though strongly attached to the French nation, he saw more clearly than desirable, in a matter of this consequence, where many things had to be passed over and much left to time and circumstances.

The Foxes[1] solicited a Jesuit: they said that they had no more sense, since Perrot had left them, and that the missionary would give them some. They complained then of the Sault Indians, and as these recriminated, the dispute would have gone on, had not an expedient been found to induce the parties to suspend their animosity till the conclusion of the treaty of peace, after which, it was promised, justice should be done to all.

The turn of the Iroquois having come, their orator[2] dwelt much on the impossibility of restoring their prisoners; they said that the young men had control of them;

[1] By their chief Noro or Porcupine; he was answered by Ouabangué the Chippeway or Sault chief.

[2] Teganeout.

most of them were taken in their childhood, did not know their own parents, and were attached to those who had adopted them. He added that de Maricourt and Joncaire had not insisted strongly on this point, and from this they had inferred that Ononthio did not take it to heart. 1701.

Joncaire, who was present, and to whom de Callieres intimated that he would not like to have him excuse himself, rose and said that he avowed his fault; but that he begged the Senecas, his brethren, to help him to repair it; that they saw with what docility the other children of Ononthio had conformed to the slightest sign of his will, although they might have adduced the same reasons that the Iroquois did for disobeying. There was dissatisfaction with the Iroquois on this occasion, and even some sharp altercation, and they parted on no very good terms, though they relented and again approached.

First public conference.

At last, on the 1st of August, the first public session was held, and while a Huron chief[1] was speaking, the Rat fell sick. He was attended with all solicitude, inasmuch as on him the Governor-General built his main hope of successfully terminating his great work. He was almost exclusively indebted to him for this wonderful concert, and this assemblage, till then unexampled, of so many nations for a general peace. When he came to, and recovered his strength, he was placed in an armchair in the midst of the assembly, and all drew around to hear him.

Kondiaronk's address.

He spoke at length, and being naturally eloquent, no one perhaps ever exceeding him in mental capacity, he was heard with boundless attention. He described with modesty, and yet with dignity, all the steps he had taken to secure a permanent peace among all the nations; he made them see the necessity of such a peace, and the advantages it would entail on the whole country in general and each tribe in particular, and with wonderful address showed distinctly the different interests of each. Then

[1] This chief was known as Quarante Sols, or "Forty Pence."

1701. turning towards the Chevalier de Callieres, he conjured him so to act that no one thereafter could reproach him with abusing the confidence placed in him.

His voice failing, he ceased speaking, and received from all present applause, to which he was too well accustomed to be affected by it, especially in his actual condition; in fact he never opened his lips in council without receiving such applause even from those who disliked him. He was not less brilliant in conversation in private, and they often took pleasure in provoking him to hear his repartees, always animated, full of wit, and generally unanswerable. In this he was the only man in Canada, who was a match for the Count de Frontenac, who often invited him to his table to give his officers this pleasure.

His death and eulogy.

The Governor-General replied that he would never separate the interests of the Huron nation from those of the French, and he pledged him his word to satisfy the allies of both, especially on the question of prisoners. He felt worse at the close of the session, and was carried to the Hotel Dieu, where he died two hours after midnight,[1] in most Christian sentiments, and aided by the sacraments of the Church. His nation felt the extent of the loss it suffered, and it was the general opinion that no Indian had ever possessed greater merit, a finer mind, more valor, prudence or discernment in understanding those with whom he had to deal. His measures were always found wise, and he was never without resource; hence he always succeeded. At first he used to say that he knew only two men of talent among the French, the Count de Frontenac and Father de Carheil. In the sequel he knew others to whom he rendered the same justice. He had an especial esteem for the wisdom of the Chevalier de Callieres, and his ability in the management of affairs.

His esteem for Father de Carheil it was undoubtedly which determined him to embrace Christianity, or at least to live in conformity to the maxims of the gospel. This

[1] The Vie de Mlle Mance is silent as to le Rat's death.

esteem became a real attachment, and that religious could obtain anything from him. His zeal for the public good was sincere, and this motive alone led him to break the peace made by the Marquis de Denonville with the Iroquois against his views. He was very jealous of the glory and interests of his nation, and was strongly convinced that it would hold its ground as long as it remained attached to the Christian religion. He even preached quite frequently at Michilimackinac, and never without fruit.[1] 1701.

His death caused a general affliction, and there was no one French or Indian who did not show that he felt it. The body lay in state for some time in an officer's uniform, with side arms, as he held the rank and pay of a captain in the French army. The Governor-General and Intendant went first to sprinkle the corpse with holy water. The Sieur de Joncaire then followed at the head of sixty warriors of Sault St. Louis, who wept for the dead, and covered him, that is, made presents to the Hurons, whose chief replied in a well-turned compliment. His obsequies.

His funeral, which took place the next day, was magnificent and singular. Mr. de St. Ours, first captain, marched in front at the head of sixty men under arms; sixteen Huron braves, attired in long beaver robes, their faces blackened, followed with guns reversed, marching in fours. Then came the clergy, with six war-chiefs carrying the bier, covered with a pall strewed with flowers, on which lay a chapeau and feather, a gorget and a sword. The brothers and children of the deceased were behind it, accompanied by all the chiefs of the nations: de Vaudreuil, Governor of the city, supporting Madame de Champigny, closed the procession.

At the end of the service there were two volleys of musketry, and a third when the body was committed to the earth. He was interred in the great Church, and on his tomb this inscription was placed: CY GIT LE RAT, CHEF

[1] In his "Dialogues ou Entretiens entre un Sauvage et le Baron de la Hontan," p. 44, the latter makes Kondiaronk, whom he calls Adario, speak of what he had seen in France; but these Dialogues have always been regarded as imaginary. See ante, i., p. 87.

1701. HURON—Here lies the Rat, a Huron Chief. An hour after the obsequies the Sieur de Joncaire took the Iroquois of the Mountain to compliment the Hurons, to whom they presented a Sun and a wampum belt; they exhorted them to preserve the spirit and always follow the views of the distinguished man whom the nation had just lost, to remain always united with them, and never swerve from the obedience they owed to their common Father, Ononthio. This the Hurons promised, and there has never been any cause of complaint against them since that time. But what constituted the highest eulogium of this chief, was to see what hitherto no one had dared to hope, all the nations of New France assembled in one city, and to know that this concert was in good part his work.

The Iroquois complain that they are distrusted.

On the following days there were several private councils, in which the Iroquois complained of the distrust shown of their sincerity, and they added that if their prisoners were restored, there should be no reason to repent confiding in their word. The Chevalier de Callieres showed them the injustice of their complaints, and detailed all the grounds for being uneasy in regard to them. Still, as he wished to put them entirely in the wrong, he promised to lay their request before the interested nations, and to support it. He did so in fact, and as he had already discussed this question with the Rat, who advised satisfying them, and as many others left it to his prudence, he resolved to run the risk, and the event justified him.[1]

Sickness among the Indians, to what it was ascribed.

Disease had from the first prevailed among the Indians, and many of the most important men had already died. The Hurons had suffered most severely, and imagined it was the effect of witchcraft thrown on them to destroy them all. Some even went to Father Anjelran to beg him to induce the priests of the Seminary,[2] to remove the pretended spell. On this occasion God showed in a striking manner that he is Lord of men's hearts. In spite of the rumor spread by evil-minded men, that the French had

[1] See N. Y. MSS. Eng., vol. xliv., p. 170.

[2] The Sulpitians. De la Potherie, iv., p. 239.

gathered so many nations among them only for their ruin, there was not a pagan who did not desire baptism before he died, nor a Christian who did not die in sentiments worthy of Christianity. 1701.

This affliction however obliged the Governor-General to hasten the conclusion of the treaty. All had been agreed upon in the private audiences, and it only remained to sign the articles and proclaim Peace. He appointed the 4th of August for the last general assembly, and wished nothing omitted to give the transaction all possible celebrity. A great plain without the city was selected: a double fence one hundred and twenty-eight feet long by seventy-two wide was erected, the space between being six feet. At one end there was a covered hall, twenty-nine feet long and almost square, for the ladies and all the fashion of the town. The soldiers were drawn up around, and within the enclosure thirteen hundred Indians were arranged in fine order. Last general assembly.

De Champigny, the Chevalier de Vaudreuil and the principal officers surrounded the Governor-General, who occupied a position so as to be seen and heard by all. He spoke first, and stated briefly, that he had the preceding year established peace among all the nations; but that as of all those of the north and west, only some Hurons and Ottawas appeared at Montreal, he had notified the others that he wished them to send him deputies, so that when all were assembled he might solemnly take the hatchet from their hands, and declare to all who recognized him as their Father, that henceforward he wished to be sole arbiter of their disputes; that they should then forget all the past, and place all their interests in his hands: that he would always render them exact justice; that they must be wearied enough of war which had been of no advantage to them, and when once they had tasted the delights of peace, they would thank him infinitely for all he had done to secure it for them. De Callieres' address.

When he had ceased speaking, one of the Fathers Bigot

1701. repeated to the Abénaquis[1] in their language what he had just said; Nicholas Perrot did the same to the Miamis, Illinois and other Western Indians; Father Garnier to the Hurons, Father Bruyas to the Iroquois and Father Anjelran to the Ottawas and Algonquins. All applauded with great acclamations, making the air echo far and wide; belts were then distributed to all the chiefs, who rose in succession, and, with a grave step, attired in their long fur robes, went up and presented their slaves to the Governor-General, with belts of which they explained the tenor.

All spoke with much intelligence, and some even with greater politeness than was expected from Indian orators; but they took great care to explain above all that they were sacrificing their private interests to a desire for peace, and that this desire was induced only by their extreme anxiety to gratify their Father; that they should therefore be regarded with the greater consideration, as they stood in no dread of the Iroquois, and relied less on any sincere return from them. There was not one to whom the Governor-General did not make some graceful remarks, and as they presented the captives to him, he placed them in the hands of the Iroquois.

Strange attire of some of the deputies, and their speeches.

But this ceremony, serious as it was to the Indians, was a kind of comedy to the French, who were greatly entertained. Most of the deputies, especially those of the more remote tribes, were dressed and adorned in a manner quite grotesque, contrasting curiously with the grave and serious demeanor they affected.

The Algonquin chief[2] was dressed as a Canadian voyageur, and had his hair put up as a cock's head, with a red feather forming the crest and hanging down behind. He was a tall young man, perfect in form, the same who, at the head of thirty warriors of his tribe, of his own age or younger, had defeated the Iroquois party near Catarocouy, when Black Kettle, the great Onondaga war-chief, was

[1] And to the Algonquins, says de la Potherie, p. 241.

[2] Ounanguicé. Ib., p. 249. Ante, pp. 69, 144.

killed, a vigorous action, which, more than any other, drove the cantons to seek peace with the French and their allies. This brave advanced towards de Callieres with a noble and unembarrassed air, and said: "Father, I am not a man of council; but I always hear your voice; you have made peace, and I forget the past." 1701.

Onanguicé,[1] the Pottowatamie chief, wore the skin of the head of a young bull, the horns hanging over his ears. He was regarded as a man of much sense and mildness, and strongly attached to the French. Indeed he spoke very well and courteously.

The Fox[2] had his face painted red, and wore on his head an old rusty wig, profusely powdered and ill combed, which gave him an air at once frightful and ridiculous. As he had neither hat nor cap, and wished to salute the Governor-General in French style, he took off his wig. A great outburst of laughter followed, which did not disconcert him, for he doubtless took it as applause. He said that he had brought no prisoners, because those whom he had taken, had all escaped. "Moreover," he added, "I have never had any great quarrel with the Iroquois, though I am much involved with the Sioux."

The chief of the Sault Indians[3] had a plume like a kind of band around his head in the shape of a halo; he said that he had already set his prisoners at liberty, and he begged his Father to grant him his friendship. The domiciliated Iroquois and the Abénaquis[4] spoke last, evincing great zeal for the increase of the French colony. They more easily carried persuasion, as during the whole war they had proved by their actions, what they then attested in words.

The other deputies having ended their compliments, all eyes turned to the orator of the Cantons, who had not yet

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[1] He spoke for the Missisagues and also for the Pottowatamies. De la Potherie. He was apparently a Sac.

[2] Miskouasouath. De la Potherie, p. 246.

[3] Ouabangué.

[4] The Eagle spoke for the Caughnawagas, Tsahouanhos for the Indians of the Mountain, Haouatchouath for the Abénaquis of St. Francis.

1701. spoken. He said only two words, to the purport that those whose word he bore, would soon convince all the nations of their injustice in distrusting them; that they would convince the most incredulous of their fidelity, sincerity and respect for their common Father.

The treaty of peace was then brought, which was signed by thirty-eight deputies, then the great calumet of peace.[1] The Chevalier de Callieres smoked it first, de Champigny after him, then de Vaudreuil, and all the chiefs and deputies, each in turn. The *Te Deum* was then chanted. Last of all appeared great kettles, in which three oxen had had been boiled; each one was served in his place without noise or confusion, and all passed gaily. It ended with the firing of squibs and cannon, and in the evening with an illumination and feux de joie.

Audience given to the upper tribes.

On the 6th de Callieres assembled the deputies of the upper tribes and told them that though he had grounds for not being entirely satisfied with some of them, he would, in consideration of peace, overlook the irregularity of their conduct; that he pardoned the Sacs for the death of the Frenchman whom they had killed, because they had agreed to surrender the murderer to Mr. de Courtemanche, and their deputy had offered satisfactory reparation.

The Illinois deputies had died on the way, and in their last moments had confided the interests of their nation to Onanguicé. The Governor-General ordered this chief to notify the Illinois that if they should again plunder the French, he would not be satisfied as now with the restitution of the goods taken by the robbers. He spoke in the same tone to some others, who were subject to the same fault, and gave them all to understand that they should find him a Father, but a Father no longer disposed to allow them to swerve from the path of duty, as heretofore.[2]

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[1] They signed this treaty with different marks from those used on the previous one. *Charlevoix.* Ratification of the Peace. N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 722–5.

[2] He complained of Noensa (Roen-

He then distributed to them the King's presents. The Ottawas asked for Father Anjelran and Nicholas Perrot, and he told them that he would willingly accede to it; that the missionary was disposed to follow them; but on condition that they should correspond with greater docility to his instructions. Their deputy also conjured him not to permit brandy to be carried anywhere, because that liquor troubled the mind, and could only lead the young men to excesses, which would infallibly entail deplorable results; all present applauded this request, except a Huron chief, who was a great drunkard, and had already taken steps to carry home a supply of liquor. 1701.

The next day the Governor-General gave audience to the deputies of the cantons. After impressing on them that they would be inexcusable and deserving of all his anger, if they refused to set their prisoners free, he ordered them to deliver these captives to Joncaire, who was to set out with them, pledging his word, that if some of these prisoners then wished to return to their country, they should be free to do so, as had just happened with the prisoners whom the Hurons had brought to him. And to the Iroquois.

He also recommended them to remain neutral between the French and English, should war be renewed between those two nations, as would apparently soon be the case. He showed them that it was utterly contrary to their interests to allow the English to build forts in their towns and on their rivers, and he assured them that he would never permit it. He was very anxious that they should ask him for Jesuit missionaries, convinced that their presence was the most effectual means of retaining them in a strict neutrality; but he deemed it inexpedient to allude to it, the Court having given him no instructions on the

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sa,) the Kaskaskia chief for removing his village to the Mississippi. De la Potherie, iv., p. 255. This change was made on hearing that the French had settled at the mouth of the Mississippi. Father Gravier apparently induced them to halt at the present Kaskaskia till he went down and ascertained the real state of affairs. Gravier, Journal, p. 6: Early Voyages up and down the Mississippi, p. 116.

1701. point, and the indirect means which he employed to bring them to it, succeeding to his desire.

He last of all gave them explanations in regard to the post he wished to found at Detroit, whither, in June, he had sent the Sieur de la Motte Cadillac[1] with about one hundred men and a Jesuit, in order to attract the Indians there. He had used all expedition to get this convoy off before the Iroquois deputies came, lest, in case they begged him to defer the execution of his project, his refusal should prove an obstacle to the peace; whereas, the thing done, he would be more justified in not yielding. They in fact adduced difficulties enough to embarrass him, had he not gone so far, but he made them relish his reasons, the chief being, that the English, had he not anticipated them, would undoubtedly have attempted to settle there, and thus drawn the war into the heart of the country.[2]

The Mohawks accede to the treaty.

The Mohawks had not sent deputies to the Congress as they had promised, and the General expressed his resentment to the deputies of the other cantons; but the latter had scarcely left Montreal before the Mohawks arrived. They made their excuses and signed the treaty.[3] Some time after, Joncaire arrived with very few prisoners, the others absolutely refusing to follow him. It was believed, or the authorities chose to pretend to believe, that this was no fault of the Iroquois, and there the matter rested.[4]

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[1] Cadillac claims the whole merit of founding Detroit. He went to France and obtained the appointment of Commandant. He started from Quebec March, 8, and from Montreal, June, 5, reaching Detroit July, 24, 1701, with 50 soldiers under Tonti, and 50 Canadians with a Recollect chaplain and Father Vaillant as Indian missionary. He at once erected Fort Pontchartrain, a palisaded structure near the present Jefferson Avenue, Shelby and Woodbridge Streets. Sheldon's Michigan, pp. 91–2, and 145. Cadillac believed "that God had raised him up as another Moses" to gather the Indians at Detroit. Ib., p. 48.

[2] The account of this conference will be found in de la Potherie, iv., pp. 200–266. In regard to Detroit see Relation des Affaires du Canada, p. 37; Canada Documents, ix., pp. 164–254; N. Y. MS. Eng., xlv., p. 1.

[3] Seven Mohawk sachems came with his messengers and agreed to neutrality. De Callieres to Pontchartrain. N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 737.

[4] On the 15th of Nov. 1701, the Seminary of Quebec was totally de-

1702.

The next year the Cantons sent a solemn deputation to de Callieres, to thank him for having given them peace, and he also received a deputation from the upper tribes for the same purpose. But what gave the greatest hopes of the durability of this peace, was the request of the Iroquois deputies for Jesuits. They at the same time informed him of the death of Garakonthié,[1] who never ceased till his last sigh to serve the French usefully in his nation, and they presented to him the nephew who offered to be the Governor's agent in place of his uncle, and was accepted.

Death of Garakonthié.

The Governor-General was too anxious to see the Iroquois of themselves solicit the return of the missionaries to the Cantons, not to take them at their word. He had some all ready, and sent them everywhere.[2] He appointed Mr. de Maricourt to escort them, and they were very well received. It was not that the nation was better disposed than before to embrace Christianity;[3] but it was not useless to religion and it was important to the colony to have among these savages, persons invested with a character capable of impressing them, whose presence assured them of a desire to live in peace with them; who could enlighten their conduct, notify the Governor-General of all their proceedings, gain them by affability, or at least make friends among them—above all, discover and disconcert the intrigues of the English, who are no longer to be dreaded

Missionaries to the Iroquois.

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stroyed by fire, with nearly all its contents. The venerable Bishop Laval was rescued with difficulty. Juchereau, Histoire de l'Hotel Dieu, p. 397.

The Sloop Mary, sent by Samuel Vetch, was at Quebec, Oct. 6–22, landed a cargo from New York and took in a return cargo. She was wrecked on Montauk Point. See Voyage of the Sloop Mary, O'Callaghan's Colonial Tracts, I.

[1] He was a brother of the great Daniel Garakonthié who died in 1676. Ante, iii., p. 196, n.

[2] He sent Father de Lamberville with a lay brother to Onondaga: Fathers Garnier and Vaillant to Seneca. De Callieres to Count Jerome de Pontchartrain, Nov. 4, 1702. N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 737. F. Chaigneau to F de Lamberville, Oct. 11, 1702, announces their arrival at Onondaga. Rel. des Affaires du Canada, p. 35.

[3] One sachem distinctly expressed their intention to adopt the religion of the party who showed the greatest liberality in trade, N. Y. Col. Doc., iv.

1702. in that part of America, when they have not the Cantons on their side.[1]

English hostilities.

De Callieres, assured of the Iroquois at the very time that he learned that war had been declared between France and England,[2] had scarce a doubt that the first efforts of the English in America would be directed against Acadia or Newfoundland, and his conjecture proved true. He was soon informed that the enemy menaced Placentia; but he soon after had intelligence of the miscarriage of the project, which resulted only in plundering and burning some fishing smacks.

Acadia, less fortified than Placentia, more difficult to guard and nearer New England, gave him more uneasiness, as it was not easy to send the aid which it needed extremely. But his dispatches, received at this juncture from the French court, delivered him from this embarrassment at least for some time. He was informed that the solid establishment of that colony was much discussed, and that they were devising means for considerably increasing the population.

Various ineffectual projects for Acadia.

This was really so, and the matter seemed so serious to the bishop of Quebec, who was then in France, that he felt bound to take steps to establish in Acadia a body of ecclesiastics, who could supply clergymen for all the posts intended to be settled, so as not to be under the necessity of drawing any from Canada, where there were none to spare. He first fixed on the Benedictines of St. Maur, but the General of that Congregation did not enter into his views. He then negotiated with the Premonstratensians, and applied to the Regular Abbot of St. André aux Bois in Picardy. He found a man well-disposed to do all he desired, so far as even to wish to devote himself to the

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[1] In 1702 Champigny returned to France, and de Beauharnois became Intendant, April, 1, 1702, and arrived Aug. 29. Edits et Ordonances, iii., p. 56. Juchereau, Histoire de l'Hotel Dieu, p. 403. The following winter the small pox raged terribly, having been brought from Albany by an Indian. The deaths in Quebec amounted to 2000, Ib. p. 404.

[2] Queen Anne declared war against France and Spain, May 4, 1702.

Acadian missions, and the treaty was well advanced, when the Superiors of that order exacted conditions which the bishop could or would not grant; and as the court soon abandoned the project of settling Acadia, things spiritual and temporal remained in the same position as ever. 1702.

The Chevalier de Villebon had died there in the month of July, 1700,[1] and Mr. de Brouillan from Governor of Placentia became Governor of Acadia. He had soon to cope with part of the New England forces: the Bostonians committed great ravages all along the coast, and carried off several vessels.[2] He then learned that the French prisoners at Boston were treated very harshly; that the Queen of Great Britain had forbidden any exchange, and that the Governor wished to hang Captain Baptiste, an active privateer, whose liberty had been refused to the French during the peace, under the pretext that he was a pirate. The English menace New France

On this intelligence he dispatched an express to Boston to notify the Governor that he would retaliate if he carried out his threat, and this declaration saved Baptiste's life; but de Brouillan's envoy informed him that they were expecting at Boston vessels from England to besiege Quebec and cruise in the gulf and even up the St. Lawrence, so as to prevent any French vessel from entering.

The Governor at once dispatched the same courier to Quebec to inform de Callieres of all this. The Governor-General had already some intelligence: he was at the same time informed that the New York militia had already marched for Boston; that the Iroquois were earnestly pressed by the English to expel the missionaries from their country: that some of the Cantons had already promised to do so: that many even of our ancient allies were negotiating with the English through the Iroquois,[3] Movement among the Indians against our interests.

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[1] Acadia reunited to royal domain Mar. 23, 1703, and prior grants annulled. Arrets et Ord., ii.. p. 132.

[2] De Neuvillette sent out by de Brouillan was killed, and English escaped. N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 738.

[3] The Onondagas sent an embassy to the Ottawas, in Oct. 1702, and Bleecker and Schuyler were to attend it. N. Y. MS. English, Vol. xliv., pp. 170, 179, 182. See, too, Canada Doc., II. ix., pp. 200, 246.

1702. some grounding the step on the high price of our goods. This old and but too well-founded complaint, sprang in part from the poverty of the Canadian settlers, and in part from the avarice of the merchants both in France and the colony. At all events it was a pretext ever open to the Indians—with some to excuse their inconstancy, with others to cloak their ill-will.

Death of the Chevalier de Callieres

Under such circumstances the most urgent point was to baffle the intrigues of the English in the Iroquois cantons, and here the Chevalier de Callieres began. He then wrote to the court for recruits; he planned the completing of the fortifications of Quebec,[1] and took all other steps that his experience and ability suggested. He was himself the greatest resource of New France, which had the misfortune to lose him at the moment when he was most necessary. He died at Quebec, May 26th, 1703, justly regretted as the most accomplished General the colony had yet had, and the man who had rendered it the most important services.[2]

1703.

The Marquis de Vaudreuil succeeds him.

By his death the general command remained in the hands of the Marquis de Vaudreuil, Governor of Montreal. He was greatly beloved by the Indians, and the valor he had displayed on several occasions during the last war, together with his noble and amiable manners, had gained him the affection and acquired the esteem of the whole colony. Hence it, with one accord, solicited him as Governor-General. Moreover he had no rival, over whom the position he occupied, his experience, and his knowledge of Canadian affairs, did not give him a great superiority. Mr. de Champigny, who had been the rival of de

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[1] He also summoned troops from Montreal. De Callieres to Pontchartrain, Nov. 4, 1702. N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 737.

[2] He had never enjoyed vigorous health, and suffered from gout, but was seized with a hemmorrhage while at High Mass in the Cathedral on Ascension day, and died a few days after. He was buried in the Recollect Church beside Frontenac. Juchereau, Histoire de l'Hôtel Dieu., p. 409. On his coffin was inscribed, Cy gist Haut et Puissant Seigneur, Hector de Callieres, Chevalier de St. Louis, Gouverneur et Lieutenant-General de la Nouvelle France, décédé le 26 May, 1703. Smith, History of Canada, i., p. 148.

Callieres, had returned to France and given up all thoughts of America. 1703.

The Marquis de Vaudreuil was accordingly granted to the prayers of all those whom he was to govern; it seems even that this unanimity of all orders in the colony in his favor had gratified the King, who had given him marks of his appreciation on several occasions since the surprise of Valenciennes by the Mousquetaires, to which body Vaudreuil belonged. In fine, the intelligence of his promotion was received with most sincere applause, his conduct during the vacancy having already confirmed the general impression, that no one was better adapted for the post to which his Majesty's selection had just raised him.[1]

Seneca delegation.

As he saw from the outset the importance of making sure of the Iroquois, he showed great friendship to some Senecas who came to wait upon him soon after Callieres' death. He even sent the Sieur de Joncaire to accompany them home, and that officer negotiated so successfully in that canton, that he brought back with him one of the head chiefs. This Indian first thanked the Governor-General for his goodness in promising to protect them against all their avowed enemies; he then expressed great regret that the Onondagas had not come to congratulate him, and seemed to entertain evil designs. Then he said: "We have never communicated to any one what I am going to tell you. Hitherto we have always claimed to be sole masters of our territory, and hence we at first decided to be mere spectators of what might occur between you and the English; but here is a belt which I present to you under ground, to declare to you that we give you the absolute domain of our country. Hence, Father, if any mischance befall us, in which we need aid, consider us as your children and put us in a condition to uphold the course we this day adopt. As regards the missionaries, you may be

[1] His commission dates August 1, 1703. Edits et Ordonnances, iii., p. 58; but he was not installed as Governor-General till 1705, when it was done with great pomp. Jucherau, Histoire de l'Hôtel Dieu, p. 420–1. His mother-in-law, Madame de Marçon, had been very active in procuring his appointment. See, too, Daniel, Nos Gloires, i., p. 74–81.

1703. assured that I will perish sooner than suffer them to leave my canton." He confirmed this promise by a second belt, and presented a third, to have Joncaire go and winter with him.

Teganissorens at Montreal. What he effects.

De Vaudreuil of course had no idea of refusing what he desired more than the envoy did, and Joncaire set out with him. Soon after Teganissorens arrived at Montreal, and in the audience given him by the Governor-General, he began by displaying a bad temper, which gave no good omen of the object of his coming. "Europeans," he said, "have an ill-formed mind; they make peace, and then for a mere nothing seize the hatchet again. We do not act so; we require strong reasons to break a treaty that we have signed." He then declared that his canton would take no part for either side in a war which it disapproved. This was all de Vaudreuil wished, as he convinced Teganissorens, and to deprive the Iroquois of every pretext for violating a neutrality so beneficial to the colony, he resolved to send out no parties against the English in New York. He held this up to Teganissorens as a meritorious act, and on his side the chief pledged his word to retain the missionaries who were in his canton.[1]

Expedition into New England.

At Boston they sought to take the same steps to gain the Abénaqui nations that the Commandant-General had taken to induce the Iroquois to remain neutral: but they undertook it too late.[2] De Vaudreuil formed a party of these Indians, adding some Frenchmen under the command of the Sieur de Beaubassin,[3] lieutenant, and sent them to New England. They committed some few unim-

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[1] Vaudreuil to Pontchartrain, Nov. 14, 1703. N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 743. Speech, Ib. p. 747. Smith's New York, 4to. p. 108.

[2] For some French notices of the Negotiations, see J. Bigot, Relation de la Mission Abénaquise, 1702, p. 21. The Eastern tribes met Gov. Dudley at Casco, June 20. Penhallow's Indian Wars, p. 18; but the plunder of young Castine's settlement at Penobscot precipitated the war. Williamson's Maine, ii., pp. 41–2. New Hampshire Hist. Coll., II., p. 236.

[3] La Valliere Sieur de Beaubassin was a son of la Valliere, Capt. of a detachment of the Marine and of Frontenac's guards: he had served against the Iroquois. N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., pp. 535, 602; on the Bouffonne. Ib. 643.

portant ravages, but killed about three hundred men. Moreover, the essential point was to get the Abénaquis so involved in it, that they could not draw back.[1] 1703.

Towards the close of autumn the English, who despaired of gaining those Indians, made incursions into their country and massacred all who were surprised.[2] The chiefs applied to Mr. de Vaudreuil for aid, and during the winter he sent them two hundred and fifty men, commanded by the Sieur Hertel de Rouville, seconded lieutenant, worthily replacing his father, whom age and infirmity incapacitated for such long expeditions. Four other sons accompanied Rouville, who in his turn surprised the English, killed many, and took one hundred and fifty prisoners. He lost only three Frenchmen and some Indians, but was himself wounded.[3]

Exploits of a French officer in Newfoundland.

Newfoundland was also the scene of minor operations. Mr. de Subercase, who had succeeded de Brouillan as Governor of Placentia, was not a man to leave the English quiet, and he imparted his energy to all his officers.[4] Lieutenant Amariton of the infantry achieved quite an exploit. With four soldiers, and forty-eight volunteers and sailors, he attacked Forillon[5] in broad day, and bearding three hundred English who were in the harbor, he stormed

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[1] On the 10th of August they attacked Wells, Cape Porpoise, Scarborough, Spurwink, Purpooduck and Casco. The last place was relieved by Capt. Southwick and Beaubassin drew off. New England accounts admit a loss of 155 killed. Williamson's Maine, ii., p. 44; Folsom's Saco, p. 198.

[2] N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 762.

[3] This was the attack on Deerfield, Feb. 28, 1704, O. S. Hutchinson's Massachusetts, II., p. 127; New Hampshire Hist. Coll., I., p. 29. Cornbury to Nottingham, June 22, 1704. N. Y. Col. Doc., iv., p. 1099. It was in this incursion that the celebrated Rev. John Williams with his family were taken. See Redeemed Captive returning to Zion. (Edition 1853.) Eleazar Williams, who set up a claim to be Louis XVII, was descended from his daughter, Eunice Williams. See Hanson's Lost Prince. N. Y., 1854. At Deerfield 35 were killed. The Tarbells, who became chiefs at Caughnawaga and St. Regis, were taken in this war at Groton. Hutchinson, Mass. ii., p. 129.

[4] De Subercase, Gov. of Fort St. Louis of Placentia, appointed Gov. of Acadia April 10, 1706, vice de Brouillan deceased. N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 803.

[5] Ferryland.

1703. the fort without losing a man, capturing five habitations and three small vessels.

He could not, however, prevent a brigantine from escaping to notify two men-of-war, anchored off the St. Pierre islands.[1] These appeared before Forillon, before our gallant men had withdrawn; but Amariton still had time to burn his three prizes and take to the woods. The English at once sent three hundred men in pursuit, and two armed sloops, which overtook them at Fremouse. Fear then seized his little troop, which disbanded: only ten or twelve stood by him, and with these he fought so well, that he could not be routed, and effected his retreat safely to Placentia.[2]

Ineffectual English attempt on Placentia.

The inaction of the English as to Newfoundland, rather surprised them in Canada; but they were apparently ignorant at Quebec, and even at Placentia only knew in general the English project to capture that port, a project which failed by the fault of the officer sent to carry it out. He was one Graydon,[3] and his instructions required him to conduct to the English colonies[4] a squadron given him in England; there to call out all the militia and convey them to Newfoundland to besiege Placentia. The expedition was fitted out with great secrecy; but before the squadron set sail, the secret got wind. It seems even that the blame of this was laid on Graydon; who was, it was asserted, ill-affected to government.

He had also been instructed not to deviate from his route, in order to give chase to any hostile vessel whatever, and on this point he carried his obedience further, perhaps, than was desired. Having discovered four French men-of-war making for Brest, and apparently not in a condition to

[1] This was a squadron under Capt. Sir John Leake which sailed June 24, reached Bay of Bulls Aug. 27, O. S.; destroyed Trepassey, St. Mary's, Colinet, St. Laurent and St. Pierre, and took in all 29 sail, remaining on the coast till October. Lediard, Naval History of England, p. 759. Pedley's Newfoundland, p. 42.—Subercase to the minister, Oct. 21, 1703. Canada Doc., III. iv., p. 464.

[2] Journal de la Campagne d'Amariton, ib. p. 438–444. Amariton, ensign in 1692, lieutenant, 1702, was still in service in 1717. Daniel, ii., p. 82.

[3] Vice Admiral Graydon. Lediard, Naval History, 1735, pp. 769, 770.

[4] West Indies.

make a vigorous defence, he sent indeed to reconnoitre them, 1704.
but hearing some cannonading, gave the signal for recall, and continued his route. This was subsequently known to have been Ducasse's squadron, returning from Carthagena and several other American ports, loaded with specie, amounting, it was said, to four million pieces of eight.

On arriving in the English colony,[1] Graydon, according to an English historian,[2] acted in a manner to give the idea that he came rather to spread terror than for the Queen's service. He at last set out for Placentia with all the forces that he had collected,[3] but he found the French in such a good posture, that he retired without even making a show of attacking the place.[4] Of this attempt I find nothing in any French document, manuscript or printed.[5]

Our allies seem ill-disposed.

In spite of the slight successes just mentioned, which had no advantage beyond impressing the Indians with our superiority over the English, de Vaudreuil was not without disquiet. The Hurons, who had removed from Michilimackinac to Detroit, and whose chief, called by the French Quarante Sols, was a bad man, long under the suspicion of our commandants, quite openly displayed their inclination for the English.[6]

The Ottawas, a part of whom also had come to Detroit, and the Miamis, wished to renew the war against the Cantons. The former were even so bold as to attack, under the cannon of Catarocouy, a troop of Iroquois unsuspicious of anything, killing several.[7] On the other hand, Pitre

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[1] Barbadoes and Jamaica.

[2] Burnet, History of his Own Time, v., p. 157–8, condemns Graydon, as does Lediard, Naval History of England, 1735, pp. 770, &c.

[3] He arrived off Cape Pine, Newfoundland, Aug. 2, and remained off Placentia till Sept. 24. Lediard, p. 769.

[4] He held a council of war, and the foggy weather and strength of the place were deemed insuperable difficulties. He reached England, Oct. 22. Ib., 770.

[5] Costebelle to the Minister, Oct. 25, 1704, gives no detail, but in Dec. he asked two men-of-war to prevent English attacks. Canada Doc., III., iv., pp. 508, 512.

[6] Vaudreuil to Beauharnais, Nov. 16, 1704. N. Y. Col. Doc., ix, p. 760.

[7] Vaudreuil and Beauharnais to same, Nov. 17, 1704. N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 761. The Ottawa chief was Companise.

1704. Schuiller Governor of Orange, was using every exertion to bring the Cantons to a rupture with us, and this last act of hostility, committed on our territory and in our sight, more than sufficed to bring them to it.

Schuiller carried his views further: he formed the design of drawing to his province the Iroquois Christians domiciliated among us, and he succeeded in shaking several, who induced the chiefs to promise a conference with him. In vain, de Ramezay, Governor of Montreal, used every exertion to defeat this step; he would have had the mortification of seeing them set out for that conference, had not some Abénaquis who chanced to be at Montreal, shamed them out of a course so unbecoming in Christians and so dangerous to themselves.

English intrigues among the Iroquois.

Affairs in the cantons did not occupy the General less than the movements and intrigues just mentioned. Joncaire, whom he had again dispatched to Tsononthouan, (Seneca,) with Father le Vaillant, reported that the Governor of Orange, (Albany,) had convoked a general assembly of the whole nation at Onondaga, and wished at any rate to compel the Cantons, 1st, to expel the missionaries; 2nd, to prevent the Abénaquis from continuing their hostilities; 3d, to dismiss the Mohegans who had recently settled in the Mohawk canton, and force them to return to their old residence near Orange; 4th, to give passage through their territory to the upper nations to come and trade in the English colonies.[2]

The Detroit Indians ill-disposed.

He at the same time learned that some Detroit Indians had gone to Albany and been very cordially received, and that others had even set fire to the fort at Detroit,[3] which

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[1] De Vaudreuil to Pontchartrain, Nov. 16, 1704. N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 764. Ib., iv., p. 1163.

[2] Same to same, Nov. 19, 1705. N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 766.

[3] A barn between two bastions was set on fire; the Church, with the houses of Messrs. Cadillac and Tonti and of the Recollects were consumed. La Motte Cadillac in Sheldon's Michigan, p. 194–5. Sheldon supposes this to be notes of an interview between Cadillac and Count Pontchartrain at Quebec; but it is merely imaginary. Pontchartrain was never in Canada, and Cadillac did not go to France at this time. There are facts in the document, but it is chiefly an attack on Vaudreuil, the Company, Tonti, Vincennes,

would have been reduced to ashes, had not prompt steps been taken. They accordingly no longer knew on whom to depend, and our old allies seemed to be on the point of becoming our most cruel enemies. In this embarrassment, which was complicated moreover by new Miami hostilities[1] against the Iroquois, men understood better than they had hitherto done, why the Chevalier de Callieres had been so eager to have in the cantons men able to win their esteem and recall them to their true interest. 1704.

Conduct of the Iroquois on that occasion.

In fact the Iroquois, at the time when there was everything to be feared from their resentment and English persuasion, verified Teganissorens' words to Mr. de Vaudreuil, that when they had once laid down arms, they would require strong motives to take them up. On the tidings of the treachery of the Ottawas near Catarocouy, the assembly convoked by the Governor of Albany was put off, and the Senecas, who were alone aggrieved, sent back Father le Vaillant and Joncaire to Mr. de Vaudreuil to make their complaints to him on this violation of the treaty of peace.[2]

This step reassured the Governor-General. He promised the Senecas complete satisfaction, and we shall soon see that he kept his word. The hostility in question resulted from the dissatisfaction of the Ottawas at the establishment of Detroit, and the French began to perceive objections to this project, which de Callieres had overlooked. Many in Canada disapproved it, among the number Mr. de Vaudreuil.[3] This was enough to lead them not to support it, and to ascribe to it all the disorders and accidents which might happen in those remote territories. In this the General did not reflect that a thing

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Vincelot and the Jesuits, while, as he modestly expresses it, "God had raised him up as another Moses" to gather the Indians at Detroit. Ib. p. 118.

[1] Should be Ottawas apparently, referring to the attack on the Iroquois near Fort Catarocouy. Sheldon's Michigan, p. 198.

[2] Vaudreuil and Beauharnais to Pontchartrain, Nov. 17, 1704. N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 761.

[3] Cadillac in his diatribes accuses Vaudreuil of interested motives.

1704. unseasonably undertaken, should not always on that account be neglected or abandoned.[1]

Meanwhile, the Senecas seeming as well disposed as we have seen, de Vaudreuil informed them that he should like to have them attend the meeting at Albany to prevent any resolution being adopted against French interests. He had also made sure of the Onondagas; Mr. de Maricourt having recently died, the Baron de Longueuil, his elder brother, had been sent to that canton, and was successful in his negotiation. He was still there with Joncaire and Father le Vaillant when the Governor of Albany arrived. The Council was held, and Schuiller could not prevent our three Frenchmen attending, and they manœuvred so well, that the meeting broke up without coming to any conclusion.[2]

New efforts of the Governor of Albany to draw the Iroquois Christians to New York.

The Governor of Albany was not disheartened, and on his return, meeting in the Mohawk canton some Iroquois from Sault St. Louis, he induced them by presents to follow him to Corlar (Schenectady). There he reproached them with being the sole authors of the war; he then offered them lands if they would settle within his jurisdiction, and gave them a belt for their village, and two others for the Mountain and Sault au Recollet villages, by which he exhorted them at least to remain tranquil, and open a fixed trade with him.

These belts were not only taken by the Indians, but were accepted by the three villages. Mr. de Ramezay, soon informed of this, saw that there was not a moment to lose to prevent the results of this negotiation. Fortunately the chiefs and sachems had taken no part in it, so that he had no difficulty in getting the belts sent back without an answer. He even induced the three villages to raise war-parties against the English.[3]

Shortly before, some Abénaquis having allowed themselves to be surprised by the English, who killed several,

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[1] Peter Schuyler, Dirck Wessels and John Schuyler were at Onondaga before June. N. Y. MS. l., p. 26.

[2] New York Col. Doc., ix., p. 763.

[3] New York Col. Doc., iv., 1163, ix., 764.

applied to Mr. de Vaudreuil for aid, and that General sent to them the Sieur de Montigny with four or five Canadians. They only needed reassuring, and Montigny alone sufficed for this. He had soon assembled fifty warriors of that nation, and putting himself at their head, he went out to meet the English, plundered and burned a fort to which a number had retreated, and took many prisoners.[1] 1704.

Sieur de Montigny's expedition against the English.

Other Abénaquis finding themselves too much exposed to the incursions of the Bostonians, and in danger of starving, being out of reach of provisions from the French settlements, and unable to obtain any more from the English, de Vaudreuil seized the opportunity to execute a design which he had formed immediately after the Chevalier de Callieres' death. He proposed to these Indians to come and reside in the colony, and they consented. They were placed on the River Bekancourt, where they still are.[2] The Governor-General's design in forming this settlement, was to oppose a barrier to the Iroquois in case those Indians were induced by the English to renew the war, or even prevent their taking that step, and the sequel shows that he judged rightly.[3]

Several Abenaquis settle at Bekancourt

In reality the Cantons, especially the Senecas, did not wish to infringe the neutrality they had vowed, as they

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[1] He took 23. N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 762. The place was perhaps Lancaster, where quite an action took place July 31, 1704. Hutchinson's Massachusetts, ii., p. 135.

[2] N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 762. Hutchinson's Massachusetts, ii., p. 131. The Baron de Portneuf, Seigneur of Becancourt, ceded a tract of land for the Abénaqui village, so long as they occupied it, to the Indians who had come from the mission of Damisokantik, and others who came to Canada at the request of the authorities and of Father Sebastian Rale, their missionary. See Act, April 30, 1708, in Maurault, Histoire des Abénakis, pp. 285–288. Maurault makes Damisokantik identical with what Charlevoix elsewhere calls Nansokantik, Megantic Lake, in the upper waters of the Chaudière. But Rale mentions an Abénaki village near the Kennebec, by the name of Anmess8kkanti, which Trumbull supposes to be Meesucontee, at Farmington Falls, on Sandy River, Maine. Composition of Indian Geographical Names, p. 25; and this place answers all requirements, being in Rale's mission district, near the English, and nearer to the French than Norridgewock. On reaching Becancourt River they settled first on Montesson Island, and after some changes, adopted their present site in 1735. Maurault, p. 292.

[3] New York Colonial Doc., ix., p. 765.

1704. began to appreciate its advantages; but it was seen that the latter made a point of including the English also, and making themselves mediators between us and the latter. De Vaudreuil, who had soon detected their design, informed the court, and received as his answer, that if he was sure of conducting the war successfully, without involving the King in extraordinary expenses, he must reject the propositions of the Iroquois: if not, that he might secure a neutrality for America; but that his Majesty's honor required that his Governor and Lieutenant-General should not make the first advance; especially that it was utterly unbecoming to act solely through the mediation of the Iroquois.

Policy of the Iroquois. Advice given by the Court upon the subject.

The minister added, that the most seasonable course in his opinion was to direct the missionaries to make the Indians understand that the French did not seek to disturb the tranquillity of the country: that although they were in a position to push the war vigorously, they always preferred the peace of Canada to all the advantages they might reap from the superiority of their arms, and that if the Cantons, convinced of this disposition on our side, induced the English to solicit neutrality for their colonies, Mr. de Vaudreuil might listen to them, but that he should not conclude anything without receiving the King's orders.

It was generally supposed that this negotiation would prove ineffectual, and there was no surprise when its failure was known. But the essential point was to humor the Iroquois mind, by showing them that it was not we who were seeking to break the peace, and here success was aided by the reparation made to the Cantons for the insults received from the Ottawas. The chief[1] of the party who had attacked them near Catarocouy, passed by Detroit on his way back to Michilimackinac with his prisoners, and wished to induce his countrymen settled at that post to declare for him: he was even so insolent as to parade his victory in front of the fort, but the Sieur de Tonti, who

[1] Companise. N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 761.

commanded there in the absence of de la Motte Cadillac, shocked at this bravado, sent the Sieur de Vincennes with twenty soldiers of the garrison, with orders to attack them; which he did, and although Detroit Ottawas to the number of thirty came up to sustain their tribesmen, Vincennes attacked them so gallantly that he compelled them to take flight and abandon their prisoners, who were restored to the Senecas.[1] 1704.

This vigorous action, and the apparent resolution of the Governor-General to treat as an enemy whoever undertook to disturb the public peace, disconcerted all the English intrigues, and retained in their duty such of the Indians as were not well disposed. What happened at the same time in Newfoundland and Acadia, showed all these nations that the French had not exaggerated in declaring that they were in a position to push the war against the English successfully.

Exploit of a French partisan.

A partisan officer named la Grange, a man of ability and resolution, an able navigator, who had learned to fight at Hudson's Bay, under d'Iberville, equipped two barks at Quebec, with a hundred Canadians. He knew that ships of war had arrived at Bonavista, in Newfoundland, and he went there in hopes of surprising one. On arriving within twelve leagues of that port, he left his barks to escape observation, and kept on in two gigs,[2] entered the port by night, boarded a 24 gun frigate loaded with codfish, captured it, burned two storeships of two to three hundred tons each, sank another small frigate and sailed off with his prize and a great number of prisoners.[3]

There were six hundred English in Fort Bonavista, who appeared under arms next morning, but it was too late, our gallant fellows were already under sail, and in no fear of pursuit. La Grange returned to Quebec, sold the cargo of his frigate, and freighted it for France; but off the

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[1] Canada Doc., II. x., p. 410, &c. N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 761.

[2] Charois.

[3] Penhallow says he took, Aug. 18, O. S., the Pembroke Galley and burned the Society of Pool and a lesser vessel with 30 tons of oil; but says that Capt. Gill in his 14 gun ship was not sunk, but beat the French off. Indian Wars, p. 36.

1704. coast of that country he had the misfortune to be attacked; he fought with a bravery that would have ensured success had the disparity of force been less, and his defeat was scarcely less honorable to him than his victory. The King accordingly wished to secure him for his service by giving him an appointment in the navy, and he showed himself till death worthy of the honor.

The English attack Port Royal.

But what completely convinced the Indians of the superiority of our troops over the English, was the unsuccessful attempt of the Bostonians on Port Royal, and the wast of courage they displayed. De Brouillan, Governor of Acadia, had received certain intelligence that he would be attacked; however, instead of taking precautions as he should, he thought only of carrying the war among the enemy,[1] and wrote for de Vaudreuil's consent. He was accordingly surprised. At sunrise, on the second of July, men came to announce that there were English vessels in the basin of Port Royal; that they had even landed troops, captured the guard at the entrance, consisting of only three men, and taken several settlers.

By noon, the number of the enemy's vessels had increased to ten, namely, one of 50 guns, one of 30, the Boston galley of 12, and seven brigantines, all anchored before the entrance to the basin, within two leagues of the fort. So at least the Marquis de Vaudreuil states in a letter to Mr. de Pontchartrain, but the Governor of Acadia, in his letter to the same minister, avers that the enemy had twenty-two vessels, and that the flagship carried 70 guns. The two versions may be reconciled by adding to the fleet that besieged Port Royal, that which had stopped at the Mines, twenty-two leagues off, and there burned several houses.[2]

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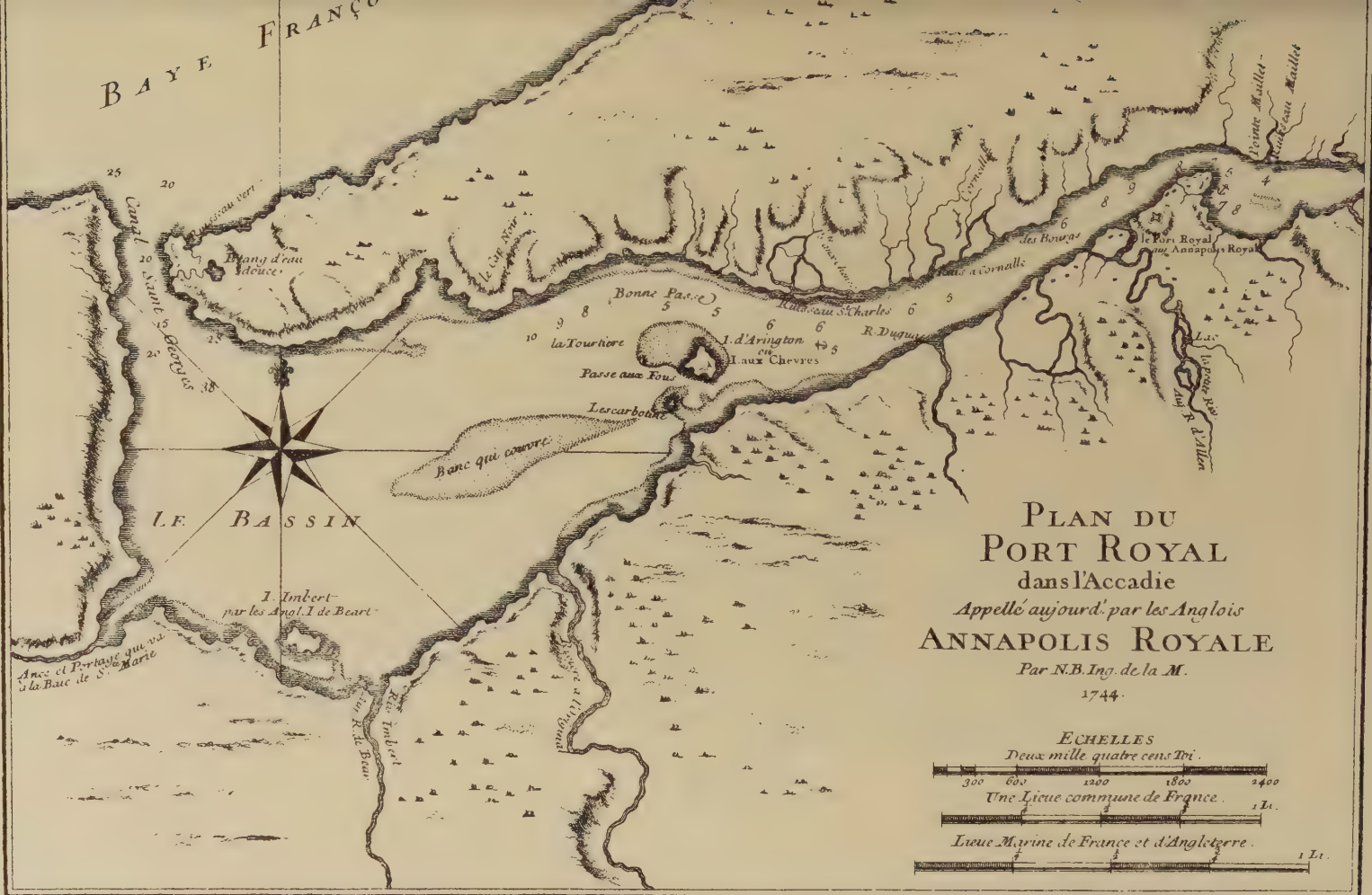
[1] When he knew that eighteen vessels lay at St. John to attack Placentia and Port Royal, he proposed to attack Boston. Letter Oct. 4, 1703. Canada Doc., III. ii., p. 576.

[2] This was the expedition under Col. Church. He had 550 soldiers in 14 transports, and had 36 whale boats; he was convoyed by the Jersey, 48, Capt. Thos. Smith; Gosport, 32, Capt. Geo. Rogers, and the Province Snow, 14 guns. Hutchinson, ii., p. 132; Penhallow, p. 28; Church's Indian War, ii., p. 104, &c. They arrived off Port Royal about



PLAN DU PORT ROYAL dans l'Accadie

Appellé aujourd'hui par les Anglois

ANNAPOLIS ROYALE

Par N.B. Ing. de la M.

1744.

ECHELLES

Deux mille quatre cens Toises.

300 600 1200 1800 2400

Une Lieue commune de France. 1 Li.

Lieue Marine de France et d'Angleterre. 1 Li.

Mr. de Brouillan was informed of this irruption on the 4th, and on the 5th he learned that the English had sent to summon all the inhabitants of Port Royal to surrender, threatening, in case they refused, to give no quarter, and they announced that they had thirteen hundred men, besides two hundred Indians. The Governor had no soldiers beyond what he needed to hold the fort. He first notified the settlers to do all in their power to prevent any landing, and conceal all their valuables in the woods. But when he saw that the fleet did not approach, he sent several detachments, which checked the English wherever they appeared. He then marched in person to support them, yet without getting too far from his fort, whence a watch was kept on the enemy's vessels. Several sharp actions occurred, in one of which the English lost their lieutenant-colonel, a man of capacity and action, and the only one on whom they could depend for the success of their enterprise. 1704.

At last, after several feints to deceive and surprise the settlers, and some dashes first at one side, then at another, the Admiral, seeing nothing succeed, re-embarked all his troops, and on the 21st, sailed out of the basin with his fleet.[1] He left one of his prisoners on shore, advising him to tell the settlers that if they chose to remain neutral he would leave them in peace. He also gave out that he was going to the Mines to complete the ruin of that district; but the Governor had sent relief there, which forced the English to carry their ravages elsewhere, and they fell on Ipiguit River. On the 22nd, sixteen more English vessels arrived at Beaubassin, under cover of a fog, but the They retire.

July, 1704. This expedition is one of those inhuman and savage devastations of the French settlements which ended in the total destruction of the Acadians. For the French account, see Expeditions faites par les Anglois de la Nouvelle Angleterre au Port Royal, aux Mines et a Beaubassin de l'Acadie. Canada Doc., III. ii., pp. 648–652.

[1] There seems to have been no idea of attacking Port Royal. Hutchinson, ii., p. 132. See decision of Council of War. Church, ii., p. 117. Church's Instructions did not contemplate it, although he wished it. The Deplorable State of New England, p. 33, attributes this to personal views of Governor Dudley, and charges that much of the plunder went to him instead of to the volunteers.

1704. people were on their guard, so that they did not do much harm.[1] Thus the whole fruit of this expedition was reduced to capturing fifty prisoners of all ages and sexes, and a very trifling booty, far from enough to compensate the Bostoners for the cost of so extensive an armament, and still less for the contempt which their lack of resolution drew on them from all the Indians.

Death of Mr. de Brouillan; Mr. de Subercase succeeds.

De Brouillan died the next year,[2] and was succeeded by de Subercase,[3] who, during the winter, had done as much harm to the English on Newfoundland as the New Englanders had wished to do to the Acadian settlers, although he missed his main object. This extremely active and vigilant officer, had formed the same design that d'Iberville and de Brouillan had executed to a considerable extent a few years before, namely, the expulsion of the English from Newfoundland.

1705.

The latter's expeditions in Newfoundland.

He proposed it to the Court, who accepted it, and Mr. de l'Epinay, who was to take the King's ship, the Wesp, to Canada, received orders to take Canadians on board at Quebec, and conduct them to Placentia.[4] He in fact landed a hundred there, including twelve officers, Montigny among the rest, the whole commanded by Mr. de Beaucourt.[5] This reinforcement was not the only one received by Mr. de Subercase, who set out on the 15th of January, 1705[6] at the head of 450 well-armed men, soldiers, Canadians, privateersmen[7] and Indians, all determined men, accustomed to march in snow-shoes. Each man carried provisions for twenty days, his arms, his blanket and a tent to each mess in turn.[8]

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[1] The French at Beaubassin or Chignecto, killed one and wounded two, before retiring to the woods. Church's Indian Wars, ii., p. 119 Ipeguit is probably Cobequid Bay, terminating in Salmon River.

[2] Sept. 22, 1705 at the entrance of Chebouctou Bay, on the Profond, Capt. Cauvet. He was buried at sea. His heart, interred on land, was dug up by the English. De Bonaventure succeeded temporarily. Can. D., III. ii., p. 652. Murdoch, i., pp. 281, 300.

[3] The commission of Daniel Auger de Subercasse is given in part in Jefferys, Conduite des François, p. 176. His authority extended from Cape Rosier to the Kennebec.

[4] He arrived at Placentia, Nov. 15, 1704. Canada Doc., II. xi., p. 290.

[5] Ante, vol. iv., pp. 217, 236

[6] Canada Doc., II. xi., p. 291.

[7] Flibustiers.

[8] Canada Doc., III. iv., p. 541: gives him 426 in all. Douglas, Summary, i., p. 294, 550.

The severest part of the march was caused by not less than four rivers not yet entirely frozen over, that had to be waded through the floating ice, which the current hurried down with great violence. Besides this, there was such a heavy fall of snow on the night of the 22nd, that the army was forced to halt for two days, during which a violent and bitter cold wind caused great suffering. On the 26th they resumed their march, turned towards Rebou,[1] and at noon arrived in the midst of the English houses, where all the people fell on their knees, begging for quarter. 1705.

Here the army found considerable provisions, and after resting there forty-eight hours, proceeded to encamp three leagues from Petty Harbor, another English post only three leagues from St. John. They entered it the next day, and leaving forty men to guard the prisoners taken at Rebou, marched forward, on the 31st. The English at St. John were ignorant of the proximity of the French, and perhaps of their departure from Placentia, but the want of order observed in leaving Petty Harbor and the neglect to reconnoitre St. John well, deprived the army of all the advantage of surprising it.[2]

There were then at St. John two forts, one much larger than the other. They began by the former, which was well defended, the English keeping upon the besiegers a constant fire of bombs and cannon-balls, which the French stood with all possible intrepidity. Nevertheless we had only fifteen men killed or wounded; the Chevalier de Lo, ensign, was among those killed.[3] Want of ammunition at last forced our men to raise the siege, a part of the powder brought from Placentia having been wet in crossing the rivers: but they did not draw off till they had laid in ashes every house around the harbor.[4]

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[1] Evidently a misprint for Bébou. The document in Canada Doc., II. xi., p. 291, has Béboulle, showing it is another French attempt at Bay of Bulls. See III. iv., p. 542.

[2] The town of St. John's was taken and the French occupied the houses. Canada Doc., III. iv., p. 544. Pedley, History of Newfoundland, p. 43.

[3] A nephew of de Subercase. Ib. II. xi., p. 301.

[4] Canada Doc., II. xi., pp. 297–302. III. iv., p. 528.

1705. On the 5th of March, the army decamped and marched along the shore to Forillon (Ferryland), where the inhabitants at first made a show of defence, but they soon changed their minds and surrendered as prisoners of war. The town was burned,[1] after which Montigny, who had brought his faithful Nescambiouit on this expedition, was detached with the Indians and a part of the Canadians to go in the direction of Carbonniere and Bonavista, with orders to burn and destroy all the coast, which he executed without losing a single man, so great was the terror among the English.

His very name made the arms fall from the hands of the most resolute, and gave him a number of prisoners whom he had only the trouble of binding. But he had to reserve Carbonniere Island for another time. It held three hundred men, and was, as I have stated, inaccessible in winter. Every other place was carried or submitted; Messrs. de Linctot, de Villedonné and de Beletre,[2] thoroughly supported Montigny, and Nescambiouit, as usual, distinguished himself. In fine, this campaign completely ruined the English trade in Newfoundland.[3]

Capture of the Bishop of Quebec and a royal ship.

They had been somewhat compensated the preceding autumn, by the capture of the Seine, a large royal storeship, which was bringing to Quebec, Mr. de St. Valier, its bishop, a great many ecclesiastics, several of the richest settlers, and a cargo estimated at nearly a million livres.[4] The Chevalier de Meaupou, who commanded this ship, discerning some vessels at a distance that appeared to him to be barks, gave chase and was soon surprised to see himself in the midst of the Virginia fleet, comprising one hundred and fifty sails, escorted by four men-of-war.

It was now out of his power to avoid an action, being to leeward of the enemy, and for ten hours he maintained the

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[1] Canada Doc., II. xi., p. 302. III. iv., p. 548.

[2] Belestre is his signature.

[3] Costebelle to the Minister, Nov. 1, 1705. Canada Doc., III. iv., p. 554; II. xi., pp. 303–4. St. John's was completely isolated till the summer of 1706. Pedley's Newfoundland, p. 43.

[4] It was sold at London for 1,300,000 livres. Juchereau, Histoire de l'Hotel Dieu, p. 417.

fight with a bravery and intrepidity that has few examples. His crew and passengers supported him remarkably well, their musket-fire killing many of the English, and what is singular, only one man was killed on the French ship. The Chevalier de Meaupou's resistance would indeed have been much longer, had he not out of courtesy for his passengers forborne to cast overboard the baggage that blocked up his guns, only a small number of which could be employed.[1] 1705.

New France long felt this loss, and Mr. de St. Valier remained eight years a prisoner in England, the Queen of Great Britain demanding, for his release, that the King of France should set at liberty the Prevôt of Liége,[2] then a prisoner of the Elector of Cologne, his sovereign, who had strong reasons for retaining him.[3] However, the capture of the Seine brought one real benefit to Canada. No one had yet thought of making linen there; necessity opened their eyes to this negligence; hemp and flax were sowed which succeeded beyond expectation, and were used.

Negotiations for an exchange of prisoners.

During this year, 1705, and the next, there was a good deal of parleying between the Marquis de Vaudreuil and Dudley, Governor-General of New England, for an exchange of prisoners. The English general made the first advances, and sent one Livingston[4] to Quebec, who, according to the custom of his nation, began by complaining loudly of the cruelties wreaked by our Indians on the English. It was easy to answer him, and he was an-

[1] Lediard, Naval History, II.

[2] The Baron de Mean, Doyen de Liége. The Chapter of Liége was composed of princes and sovereigns. The Baron was seized in his choir dress as he left the church, by Louis XIV., on a charge of correspondence with the Emperor of Germany. Juchereau, Histoire de l'Hôtel Dieu, p. 418.

[3] The bishop went to France in 1700, and was captured St. Anne's day. See, as to his capture, Juchereau, pp. 414–419.

[4] Philip Livingston, 2nd proprietor of the manor, born at Albany in 1686. His uncle, Col. Vetch, was sent with W. Dudley to Canada by the government of Massachusetts Bay, and he merely accompanied them. Hutchinson, II. p. 141. N. Y. Col. Doc., vi., p. 60, ix., pp. 770, 776. He served against Port Royal in 1710, and was then sent to Quebec. According to Dr. O'Callaghan, he died in February, 1749; though it is announced in a diary, February 19, 1720. Hist. Mag., II. iv., p. 137.

1705. swered. He then spoke of business, and de Vaudreuil told him that he did not refuse to treat with his master, but that he would lay his conditions before him by one of his officers.[1]

He selected for this purpose, the Sieur de Courtemanche, who accompanied the English envoy to Boston, and the first of these conditions was that no English prisoner should be restored, till all the French and Indian allies of the French who were in New England prisons, had been placed in the hands of the Governor of Acadia, and security given for the liberation of those transported to Europe or the West Indies. I cannot ascertain what the other conditions were. To all appearance Dudley had no intention of concluding matters; he prolonged the negotiation and at last declared that he could decide nothing without the consent of the Governors of the English colonies, and de Vaudreuil determined to recommence hostilities in New England. Men were somewhat surprised that he should be the last to see what was apparent to all, that their only object had been to delude him. He was especially blamed for permitting the son of the English General to remain some time at Quebec under pretext of concluding the treaty, and a brigantine of the same nation to ascend and descend the St. Lawrence. As I arrived about this very time at Quebec, I heard many officers murmur at his thus giving the English leisure to study the more difficult points on the river, and so depriving New France of what constituted its principal strength. Some even assured me, that they had surprised persons in the suite of the younger Dudley observing and measuring the fortifications of Quebec.[2]

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[1] Beauharnois returned to France in 1705 on the Heros, and was succeeded as Intendant, by Raudot. Juchereau, Histoire de l'Hotel Dieu, p. 421. Edits et Ordonnances, (Commission, Jan. 1, 1705,) iii., p. 60. The Seminary was again burned this same year.

[2] This was one of Vetch's schemes to study the St. Lawrence, but not his first, see ante p. 155. O'Callaghan's Colonial Tracts, I. Voyage of the Sloop Mary, 1701, p. xiv. On this occasion he boasted that he knew the river better than the people living there.

BOOK XIX.

BOOK XIX.

MONSIEUR DE VAUDREUIL still continued to leave New York undisturbed so as to conciliate the Iroquois, and because it was not prudent to bring the military operations near those Indians. Their dispute with the Ottawas was not yet settled, for though their prisoners taken at Catarocouy had been restored, they insisted upon a reparation for those killed. This was not easy to obtain, and it was feared that they might at any moment take up arms, and to this the Governor of Albany incessantly urged them. 1705.

De Vaudreuil reconciles the Ottawas and Iroquois.

The Ottawas on their side would no longer hear of peace with them; all the young men clamored for war, and were in a position to carry the decision in the councils. Fear of seeing a conflagration re-kindled, that had cost so much to extinguish, induced the General to dispatch Mr. de Louvigny to Michilimackinac, and that officer at last succeeded, though with great difficulty, in bringing the Ottawas to reason. He had some Iroquois prisoners, whom he still found at that post, delivered to him, and himself took them to Montreal.[1] On presenting them to de Vaudreuil, he told him that the head chiefs of the Ottawas were close behind him; this induced that General to summon the Iroquois chiefs to meet them and receive their prisoners.

They reached Montreal early in August, and remained there till the 14th, but the Ottawas did not appear, and

[1] La Motte Cadillac, in his own eyes the only honest man in Canada, gives his version of this whole matter. Sheldon's Michigan, p. 200.

1705. the Marquis de Vaudreuil, unable to retain them any longer, dismissed them. They had made much account of their deference in waiting so long for justice from the Ottawas, and had pressed him strongly to declare against those Indians, who had first dared to violate the treaty of peace; but he showed them that he was not obliged by virtue of that treaty to join his arms to those of the aggrieved party, until he despaired of obtaining from the offenders a sufficient satisfaction; that he had not yet let the matter sleep, that he had already recovered all the prisoners, and expected that the aggressors would do the rest.[1]

This seemed to appease them, and they had already embarked for home, when the Sieur de Vincennes arrived from Michilimackinac. He told the Governor-General that he had come with the chiefs of the Ottawas, and that he had left them quite near the island, as they had begged him to go on in advance, to learn whether their Father would admit them to his presence. De Vaudreuil sent back to tell them that they might come. and recalled the Iroquois.

The Ottawas appeared in a state of humiliation, which at once proclaimed that they did not pretend to excuse their fault. "Father," said the chief who acted as spokesman, "we confess that in striking the Iroquois on thy mat, (that is to say, On thy territory,) our blows in some sort have been directed at thee; pardon mad men, who have no longer any counsel, because all their ancients are dead. Thou mayst take such vengeance on us as thou wilt; but if thou deign to spare us, thou shalt have no reason to repent. As long as we live, we shall not cease to show thee our gratitude, and from this moment we are ready to make those whom we have aggrieved, all the satisfaction thou shalt see fit to impose on us."

He then addressed the Iroquois who were present, and spoke in such a way as to touch them. After this the General had no difficulty in reconciling them. He ordered

[1] Conference, 16th Aug. 1705. N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 767.

the Ottawas to replace the dead, which they promised. 1705.
They even began by making some presents to the Iroquois; the General also made some, then regaled both, and they all returned quite satisfied.

This same year,[1] Mr. de Beauharnois, who had succeeded de Champigny as Intendant of Canada,[2] was appointed Intendant of the Classes of the Navy, and was succeeded by the Messieurs Raudot, father and son. The latter, who had already filled the office of Commissaire Ordonnateur at Dunkirk, took charge of naval affairs; justice, police, finances and general affairs were allotted to the father, who, seeing at once that the colonists were beginning to ruin themselves by litigation, to the great detriment of agriculture, resolved to retrench lawsuits as much as possible, and undertook in person to arbitrate between parties, and succeeded beyond his expectations.[3]

Project for trade and the relief of the people.

The next year he proposed to the King's Council to permit the inhabitants, who since the loss of the Seine, had begun, as we have already said, to cultivate flax and hemp, to use them in the country where French linens were so dear that the less wealthy, who formed the majority, could not afford them, any more than cloths, the consequence being that most of them were nearly naked.[4]

The minister's reply was that the King was charmed to learn that his Canada subjects at last saw their error in

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[1] New England at last solicited neutrality, and a proposed treaty negotiated through Vetch, can be found, N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 770–2, Oct. 1705. Vaudreuil did not however believe Dudley sincere. Ib. p. 776. The French King authorized it, p. 779, but Hutchinson, (ii., p. 141,) admits that the General Court did not take any steps towards effecting it. New England, therefore, endured Indian hostilities voluntarily, buoyed up by the hope of reducing Canada.

[2] Beauharnais' commission, April 1, 1702. Edits et Ordon., iii., p. 56

[3] Commission of Raudot, Sr., Jan. 1, 1705. Ib. p. 60; of Raudot, Jr., in the absence or default of Raudot Sr., p. 62. They arrived, Sept. 6, 1705, in the Héros, Comte d'Arguian. Juchereau, Hist. de l'Hôtel Dieu, p, 421. The Seminary at Quebec was destroyed by fire, Oct. 1. Canada Doc., II. x., p. 480. Abeille, I. No 7. For Raudot's views, see, Letters, Canada Doc., x., pp. 515, 545. As to litigation Memoirs of Dauteuil, Ib. xi., pp. 1–22.

[4] Raudot to the Minister, Oct. 19, 1705. Canada Documents, II. x., p. 515.

1705. devoting themselves exclusively to the fur trade, and were turning seriously to the cultivation of their lands, and especially to planting flax and hemp; that his Majesty hoped that they would soon succeed in building vessels cheaper than in France, and in establishing good fishing stations; that too much could not be done to incite them to it, or facilitate the means of their doing so; but that it was not expedient for the Kingdom that manufactures should be carried on in America; as this could not be permitted without some prejudice to those of France; that nevertheless he did not absolutely forbid the establishment of some for the relief of the poor. In fact advantage was taken of this permission to make linens and druggets, from which the colony derived great benefit.[1]

The Ottawas make reparation to the Iroquois.

Meanwhile the Ottawas showed no haste in fulfilling the conditions on which they had obtained pardon from the Marquis de Vaudreuil. On the other hand, the missionaries at Michilimackinac, after burning their house, had come down to Quebec, the licentiousness of the bushlopers, more unbridled than ever, depriving them of all hope of doing any good in that place, where, since the departure of the Hurons for Detroit, they had not a single Christian left, so that the Ottawas, abandoned to themselves, followed only their caprice.[2]

The embarrassment into which this incident threw the Governor-General, was greatly increased by the information given him that the Iroquois, incensed at the delay in the reparation promised by the Ottawas, seriously thought of declaring war against them. It was of the greatest consequence to prevent this, and de Vaudreuil at once dispatched Joncaire to renew to the Cantons his solemn promise of a prompt and entire satisfaction. He then persuaded Father Marest to return to his mission at

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[1] The Hospital Brothers at Montreal were active in this matter. Canada Doc., II. x., p. 410; and Madame de Repentigny wove nettles, white-wood bark &c. Ferland, ii., p. 355.

[2] La Motte Cadillac used every endeavor to draw the Indians from this post to Detroit, with a view of Frenchifying them. Letter to Pontchartrain, Aug. 31, 1703, in Sheldon's Michigan, pp. 104, 112, 198.

Michilimackinac, pledging his word to remove the ground of his complaint; he sent Mr. de Louvigny with him, and they two, by the influence they possessed over the Ottawa mind, at last brought those Indians to fulfill all that they had promised the Iroquois.[1] 1706.

Hostility of the Miamis against the Ottawas.

This affair was scarcely ended when another, still more vexatious, arose, and but for the wisdom and firmness of the Governor-General, it would have involved us in a war against our own allies, and perhaps placed us in the cruel necessity of destroying a nation which had hitherto been most constantly attached to our interests, and afforded the English the greatest facility for once more turning the arms of the Iroquois against us. The occasion was this:

Some Miamis had killed some Ottawas, I know not for what, and their sachems, from whom the Ottawa nation demanded reparation, merely replied that the thing had happened through inadvertence. Some time afterwards, an Ottawa, highly esteemed in his nation, was also killed by a Miami. Again demanding justice, they received the same reply. The Ottawas, stung to the quick, applied to de la Motte Cadillac, who commanded at Detroit, where there was a Miami, an Ottawa and a Huron village; that officer replied that he would inquire into the circumstances and see justice done.[2]

The Ottawas take umbrage at the French.

A few days after, he set out for Quebec,[3] and taking leave of the Ottawas he told them, that as long as they saw his wife at Detroit, they should remain quiet; but that if she left, he could not answer for what might ensue. At the end of two months, Madame de la Motte Cadillac embarked to join her husband in Quebec, and then the Commandant's last words to the Ottawas, coupled with his leaving them without bringing the Miamis to justice, raised fears that the French had resolved to ruin them in punishment for what they had done to the Iroquois at Cataro-

[1] Vaudreuil to Pontchartrain, April 28, 1706. N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 775. See La Motte in Sheldon's Michigan, p. 193.

[2] La Motte Cadillac, Ib. p. 196, says he settled the affair and restored peace.

[3] He started for Detroit early in the autumn of 1704.

1706. couy; for although they had repaired that fault, still, as Indians never pardon very sincerely, they always mistrust the sincerity of a pardon from those they have aggrieved.

Indiscretion of two officers.

At this juncture, an officer named Bourgmont, arrived at Detroit to relieve the Sieur de Tonti, whom Mr. de la Motte Cadillac had left in his place as Commandant. The Indians, going to salute him, according to custom, asked him whether he did not bring any news to interest them, and he told them, with quite an angry air, that he knew none except that Mr. de la Motte would return the next spring well attended.

This reply, and still more the tone and manner in which it was made, set the Ottawas, in particular, thinking, especially as nothing was said of the Miamis. A word that escaped Mr. de Tonti when these very Indians expressed their regret at losing him, increased their disquiet. He told them that the earth must be overset, when he was recalled, to put a soldier in his place.[1] Their reflections on this completely persuaded them that some design was formed against them, and they made no secret of their fear.

Bourgmont, warned of it, assembled them, and, after telling them whatever he deemed most adapted to reassure them, he proposed to them to join the Miamis, Iroquois and Hurons in a war against the Sioux. He even flattered himself that he had gained them; but was mistaken and did not know the Indians. This speech and the proposition he had made only tended to confirm the impression that he was seeking to betray them by means of the Huron chief, a dangerous and crafty man; and they imagined that the latter was in concert with the Miamis, who were pretending a desire to march against the Sioux only to

[1] Bourgmont was only 2nd ensign, Tonti, captain. *Charlevoix.* He was sent from Quebec, Sept. 29, 1705, and reached Detroit, Jan'y 29, 1706. Sheldon's Michigan, p. 224. Bourgmont was apparently subsequently employed in Louisiana. An officer of the name, commandant of Fort Orleans on the Missouri, led an expedition to the Padoucas or Comanches in 1724. See Journal in Le Page du Pratz, Histoire de la Louisiane, iii., pp. 141–216. Dumont, Memoires, ii., pp. 74–8; Bossu, i., p. 161.

fall on them during the march, when they were off their guard, and that the Iroquois were in the plot. 1706.

Their suspicions increasing daily by fresh tidings from all sides, which would have made no impression had not their minds been preoccupied, they resolved to forestall the Miamis. Yet the wisest wished first an explanation with the French; but the majority, urged on by a chief named Le Pesant, were of a contrary opinion. This chief reminded them of all their motives for distrusting the Commandant of Detroit, and they resolved to fall upon the Miamis on the first opportunity that offered, but to keep up the show of preparing for the Sioux war. Vengeance of the Ottawas on the Miamis.

All being ready to start on that expedition, the Ottawa chiefs waited on Bourgmont and asked whether he had received no word from Quebec or Montreal. That officer seemed to pay no attention to what they said, which offended them greatly. A moment after, Bourgmont's dog, having bitten one of these Indians in the leg, the Indian beat the dog, on which the Commandant rushed upon him and gave him so many blows, that he died soon after; this violence drove the Ottawas to desperation. They set out the next day breathing naught but vengeance, convinced that it was necessary for their safety.

Only the chiefs, however, were yet informed of their design, all the rest supposing that they were to march against the Sioux: but when they had reached the woods they were informed, and directed not to harm the French or Hurons. They then retraced their steps, and some time after, meeting six Miamis, fell upon them and killed five. The sixth escaped within the fort, and on entering began to cry: "The Ottawas are killing us."

At this cry all the other Miamis, who were still in their village, also ran to the fort for a refuge, and the Commandant, seeing the Ottawas in pursuit, fired on them, and some were killed. The Recollect Father Constantin, chaplain of the fort, was walking in his garden, ignorant of all that was going on. Some Ottawas seized and bound him; but John le Blanc, one of their chiefs, who had taken part in the assembly at Montreal, where the general

1706. peace was signed, unbound him, and begged him to go and tell the Commandant that they had no designs on the French, and that he besought him to stop firing on them.

A Recollect Father killed by the Ottawas.

As that religious was about entering the fort, some flying Miamis overtook him, and a volley of musketry was fired upon them by Ottawas who perceived them. Father Constantin was struck and fell dead on the spot. A French soldier returning from the Huron village was also killed in the same manner and by the same mischance.[1] Bourgmont then closed the gates of the fort, and kept up a fire on the Ottawas. Thirty of those Indians were killed, either by the French cannon, or by the fire directed against them by the Miamis and Hurons on all sides.

There was every reason to infer that this disorder would cease only by the destruction of one of the two parties, who seemed envenomed against each other, and hearkened only to their fury; but at a moment when it was least expected, the Ottawas retired to their village, the other Indians did the same on their side, and calm was everywhere restored, as often happens in storms that come up at sea, making it appear one moment all on fire, and dying away when least expected.

Embarrassment of de Vaudreuil.

When this news reached Quebec, the Marquis de Vaudreuil found himself in a position of great difficulty, which was increased by an Iroquois deputation, whom he received at the same time. The deputies declared that the Cantons had resolved to make war on the Ottawas; and that after what had just occurred, they had no doubt he would abandon to them such a perfidious tribe, and they added that they had already imparted their design to the English.

La Motte Cadillac had started to return to Detroit[2]

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[1] Nicholas Benedict Constantin (de Chasle), a Recollect, is said to have arrived July 1, 1696. He was the first clergyman at Detroit, and his Register still exists. He was killed June 6, 1706. I do not find the account here followed by Charlevoix: but see Cadillac's account in Sheldon's Michigan, p. 219. N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 810. Rameau, Notes Historiques sur la Colonie Canadienne de Detroit, p. 13.

[2] He reached Detroit in August, 1706.

with his family, and a large convoy of men and munitions, so that the General was unable to concert with him the most expedient course in such a delicate juncture. Naught could be wiser than that adopted. He began by assuring the Iroquois that he would not allow them to make war on the Ottawas without his consent, and on this point he spoke so firmly that he stopped them. Besides the inexpediency of allowing the Iroquois to intervene in a quarrel which would thus become more difficult to appease, de Vaudreuil was still pleased to show the English, that with all the influence they supposed they possessed over the Iroquois, his was greater still. 1705. His course.

He then resolved to temporize till he heard what la Motte Cadillac had done at Detroit.[1] In fine he did not wish to drive the Ottawas to extremities, as their ruin or despair could not but injure the fur-trade seriously. He was more than confirmed in this idea by the arrival of an Ottawa chief, come to apologize for what had occurred at Detroit. He informed the Governor that all the Ottawas of that post had retired to Michilimackinac, where they had been very well received by their brethren, and he added that if war was declared against them, the French would have more than his tribe to cope with.

De Vaudreuil, however, deeming it expedient not to show too great readiness to receive his excuses, sent orders to all the French at Michilimackinac to come down into the colony. He even hoped that this mark of displeasure would breed division among these Indians, and compel the innocent to surrender the guilty. He imparted his resolution to la Motte Cadillac, advising him merely to keep on his guard and undertake nothing till circumstances gave some light as to their proper course, especially as nothing could be decided till they knew the result of the embassy of Joncaire, just sent to the Iroquois.

The warning reached Detroit too late. There the Commandant had nearly ruined everything by over-presuming on the influence he had acquired over the Indians. On

[1] La Motte Cadillac wrote Aug. 27, 1706. See letter in Sheldon, p. 218.

1706. his way he had heard of the troubles at his post, and as he was then quite near the Seneca canton, he took thence an escort of a hundred and twenty men. He did more: for he notified all the other cantons, to send all their men they could to wait for him at the mouth of the Detroit, wishing them to see how he was going to treat their old enemies.[1]

La Motte Cadillac's imprudence.

Before long, however, he saw the imprudence of this act, and on his arrival at Detroit, instead of marching against the Ottawas,[2] as he designed, he merely summoned their chiefs; the latter, on their side, alarmed at the approach of the Iroquois, replied that they would go to their father Ononthio and render an account of their conduct. La Motte Cadillac deemed it inexpedient to go further. He lay quiet at his post, and the Iroquois were dismissed.[3]

Ottawa deputies at Montréal.

1707. As soon as winter ended, the Ottawa chiefs started for Montreal, reaching it in June, 1707,[4] and finding de Vaudreuil there. John le Blanc, the spokesman, began by giving an exact account of what had occurred at Detroit, insisting strongly on the information given them from various quarters, that as soon as they set out for the Sioux war, the Miamis would proceed to murder their old men, women and children. He then said that a few days after the fatal blow, which rendered them criminals in his eyes, he had gone alone to the Sieur de Bourgmont to make his explanation, but had been unable to obtain an audience; that the next day he returned no less than six times, each time with an Indian of another nation, and with belts and beaver skins, but always in vain. He showed the imprudence of that officer, who, by firing on the Ottawas, had

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[1] La Motte Cadillac omits all allusion to this in his letter to Vaudreuil. Sheldon, p. 224.

[2] La Motte Cadillac to Vaudreuil, Aug. 27, 1706, admits that he promised the Hurons, Miamis, Weas, Shawnees and Iroquois "not to leave a single Ottawa on the earth." Sheldon's Michigan, p. 228–9.

[3] Letter of Vaudreuil and Raudot, Nov. 14, 1708. Canada Doc., II., xl., pp. 23–79.

[4] This year (1707) Mary Victor, Count d'Estrées, Maréchal de Cœuvres and Vice Admiral of France, succeeded as Viceroy of America to his father, John Count d'Estrées and de Tourpes, Marshal and Vice Admiral, who had been Viceroy from 1662. Count Mary Victor, the last of the Viceroys, died in 1737.

caused the death of the Recollect Father and of the French soldier. 1707.

"In a word, Father, here I am at your feet; you know that I am not the most guilty, and that, had I been believed, you would have no ground to complain of us. You are aware that I have never swerved from my duty, at least till that unfortunate day. You may perhaps know that I am the son of the first Indian of all the upper tribes, who came through the woods to meet the French. Mr. de Courcelles gave him the Key of the colony and invited him to come frequently. It is the dearest inheritance I received from him to whom I owe my existence. But of what use is the Key, if I cannot use it on the only occasion when I needed it? What have I come to do? I come to offer you my head, to present to you slaves, to raise the dead to life; I come to assure you of the sincere respect of your children. What more can I do? Yet I see that you will not be satisfied till le Pesant is delivered up; he is properly the only one guilty, but it is impossible for us to surrender him to you, without drawing down on us all the nations to which he is allied. Speech of the chief of the delegation.

De Vaudreuil replied that he understood fully the difficulty of bringing le Pesant, but that for all that, he wished to have him, and would have him; that all the Nations were aware of the fault committed by the Ottawas; that they must also all see their repentance and the reparation they made; that the evil was committed at Detroit, and there it must be repaired; that he would send his orders on the point to Mr. de la Motte Cadillac; that they should report to that officer, and not fail to execute what he should direct in his name.[2] De Vaudreuil's reply.

With this reply he dismissed them, not accepting their belt. He sent with them Mr. de St. Pierre, to whom he gave his instructions for the Commandant at Detroit. On their arrival in that post,[3] la Motte Cadillac declared to

[1] Le Blanc's address is given in Sheldon's Michigan, pp. 232–239.

[2] Sheldon's Michigan, p. 245–250.

[3] Aug. 6, 1707. Detroit in 1704 had 3 births; in 1707, 14; 1708, 13; 1709, 19. Rameau, Notes Historiques sur la Colonie Canadienne de Detroit, p. 13.

1707. them bluntly, that they had nothing to expect from him till they brought him le Pesant, and he added that if he had not controlled the Hurons and Miamis, those tribes would have punished him already.

De la Motte Cadillac's conduct disapproved.

This firmness disconcerted them, if indeed it was not all a mere device. They saw, or pretended to see, that there was no alternative but obedience, and in reply to the Commandant they said that they were going for the criminal, and would bring or tomahawk him. They in fact started for Michilimackinac, accompanied by de St. Pierre. Their prompt obedience led to the inference that la Motte Cadillac had given them to understand that he would act indulgently. The fact is that le Pesant soon arrived at Detroit, was at first put in irons; then, when all the chiefs of the tribe threw themselves at the Commandant's feet to ask the prisoner's pardon, it was instantly granted. This conduct has been much canvassed, many thenceforth being convinced that impunity for such an act would lead to more disastrous results than were to be feared from a greater severity. This was the opinion of those best versed in Indian affairs, and the future only justified their conjecture.[1]

It was not de Vaudreuil's intention to pardon le Pesant but to hand him over to the judgment of his tribe, in which he would at least have been left without influence, and which would perhaps have been forced to sacrifice him to his enemies. Nothing could be wiser, and this course had none of the objections feared; but the Governor-General had reasons for leaving de la Motte Cadillac at full liberty to act as he deemed best at Detroit. The greatest evil was, that this Commandant had promised the Miamis the head of the Ottawa chief, and we shall see how far they carried their resentment at his breach of promise.[2]

During all these movements the Iroquois acted quite well, and New York on their account enjoyed a kind of neutrality, to which it adhered as long as the Dutch party

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[1] Sheldon's Michigan, pp. 251-276.

[2] Vaudreuil and Raudot to Pontchartrain, Nov. 14, 1708. Canada Doc., II., xi., p. 23.

was the stronger; but the Abénaquis continued to ravage New England, Dudley not wishing or not daring to accept the same neutrality when proposed to him for that province.[1] The cries of the colonists who could not till their lands, or daily beheld them ravaged by the Indians, troubled him greatly, and he believed the best means to arrest hostilities which provoked these cries, was to expel the French utterly from Acadia.[2]

1707.

New attempt of the English on Acadia.

On this then he resolved, and made his preparations with equal secrecy and diligence,[3] so that they had scarcely anything more than suspicions of this design at Port Royal, when, on the 6th of June, twenty-four English vessels, the largest of 50 guns,[4] appeared at the mouth of the basin. Mr. de Subercase had a picket guard of fifteen men there, who had just time to get off under cover of the woods, and before they reached the fort, the enemy's fleet was perceived coming to anchor within a league of the works.

The next day it landed fifteen hundred men a league lower down on the side where the fort was, and five hundred on the river side.[5] This excited such alarm that the Governor had great difficulty in rallying his garrison. He succeeded however by displaying great confidence himself, and then gave orders to delay the enemy as long as possible in the woods, there being breaches in the fort to be repaired. There seems indeed a sort of fatality attached to Port Royal, that its Governors, even the most active and vigilant, should always be found unprepared.

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[1] See note ante, p. 181.

[2] Berwick's victory over the English and Spanish at Almansa, Ap'l 25, 1707, prevented a force being sent from Europe under General Maccartney to reduce Acadia. Hutchinson, ii., p. 150.

[3] New Hampshire and Rhode Island joined Massachusetts, which alone sent 1000 men, (Hutchinson, ii., pp. 150–1,) Col. Wainwright's regiment of the red and Col. Hilton's of the blue. Penhallow, p. 50.

[4] Hutchinson and Penhallow mention but two, the Deptford, man-of-war, Capt. Stukeley, and the Province Galley, Capt. Southack. They sailed from Nantasket May 13. O. S. (Penhallow has March,) with 23 transports: and arrived off Port Royal May 26 (June 6, N. S.) "There was an Army of as Likely Men as can be Imagined, the best part of Two Thousand of them." Deplorable State of New England, p. 34.

[5] Hutchinson, ii., p. 151, says: 700 men on the harbor side under Col. March, 300 on the other side under Col. Appleton.

1707.

Gallant conduct of de Subercase.

The moment he perceived the English fleet, de Subercase had also notified the colonists to meet him; but the nearest could not reach him till the evening of the 7th. As they came in they were made to file off, some to the right, some to the left, to go and meet the enemy and retard their march by skirmishing in the woods; and this had all the success that could be anticipated. On the 8th, almost all the colonists having come to the fort, de Subercase reinforced the detachment sent out to harass the English; but he warned them all not to get engaged so that they could not easily reach the fort in case they were hard pressed.

The English everywhere defeated.

They were indeed, but did not retreat till they had killed many of the enemy. The body of five hundred was the first to open a passage, and the Governor sent canoes and batteaux to embark those who retired before them. He then made them deploy to join the others who were opposed to the larger body. This corps was commanded by Denys de la Ronde, a Canadian gentleman, brother of Mr. de Bonaventure, and ensign on a man-of-war. He soon followed in person, after taking measures to arrest the five hundred English at the passage of the river.

On the afternoon of the same day, there was quite a sharp engagement, in which de Subercase had his horse killed under him. Yet he lost only one man killed and one wounded. The English loss was greater;[1] but their immense superiority forced the Governor to retreat; he did so in good order and unpursued. For two days the enemy lay inactive: he then advanced an eighth of a league and prepared to attack the fort. As the garrison was insufficient to defend both the fort and the neighboring houses, Subercase set fire to all the buildings that he could not defend, and in which the besiegers might take post.

The next night (June 10–11) the trench was opened,[2] the

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[1] Hutchinson says they had only three wounded, p. 151.

[2] According to Hutchinson, ii., p. 151, a council of war (May 13 O. S.) decided that the enemy's disciplined garrison in a strong fort, was more than a match for our raw undisciplined troops. The Deplorable State

French being unable to prevent it. The next day the Governor sent out eighty colonists and Indians, who, taking both sides of the river, formed an ambuscade in the woods, and brought to a complete halt, four hundred of the English sent out to kill the cattle. The Baron de St. Castin even advanced with six Canibas in sight of the enemy, killed six men, rejoined his troop and charged the four hundred English with such vigor as to send them back in great disorder to their camp.[1]

1707.

They open the trenches before Port Royal

Early on the 16th great activity was perceived in the trenches, and the Governor suspected that the besiegers were forming some project for the next night. In fact, towards ten o'clock at night, as he had just made the rounds, he was informed that a dull noise like men marching could be heard. He recommended strict silence, which told the enemy they were on the alert; but this did not prevent their opening the attack, although at too long range. They fired briskly on the batteries of the fort, and under cover of this fire pushed up four or five hundred men to attack the breaches, which they supposed in much worse condition than they really were.

They had even counted on a great desertion among the garrison, some soldiers having already set the example;[2] but they were mistaken. On the other hand, the guns of the fort, which were very well handled, made them abandon the design of giving the assault, and the troops who had advanced for the purpose, unable to stand the constant fire on them, fell back. But between eleven and twelve at night, the Governor saw that the fort was invested on all sides; that the enemy were posted in the ravines and valleys, surrounding the place; that they were even intrenched, and sheltered from artillery.

This troubled him indeed; but he kept up such a bold front, as to intimidate the English in their turn, and ap-

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of New England, p. 35, says that they never carried ashore a mortar or a fieldpiece, never threw up a shovelful of earth.

[1] Appleton, according to Hutchinson, ii., p. 151, had only two killed, and the French retreated.

[2] This is confirmed by The Deplorable State of New England, p. 34.

1707. parently suspecting a mine, they durst not approach the fort. They endeavored to set fire to a frigate and some barks which lay under the guns of the fort, but finding the resistance too great, they skulked behind some houses that had been left standing, regained their entrenchments, and before daylight returned to their first camp.

They raise the siege and retire.

They embarked next day as soon as the tide permitted,[1] leaving eighty of their men found dead in various places, besides several afterwards discovered near their camp. They had burnt all the houses below the fort and some of those above, carrying off all the cattle, though most of them were retaken. Port Royal owed its safety chiefly to sixty Canadians who entered it twelve hours before the English fleet anchored in the basin. The inhabitants, who for the last three years had received scarcely any relief from France, were generally quite ill-disposed, and the Governor informed the minister, that but for the presence of the Baron de St. Castin, he could not have answered for the result.[2]

He added in his letter, that the position of the Indians of his district, especially the Micmaks, was no better than that of the colonists; that they were all naked, as the Canibas and Malecites would be, if they did not trade with the Mohegans, or rather through the Mohegans with the English, who gave them a crown a pound for beaver, and received their goods at a very low rate.[3] Thus our enemies supplied the wants of our most faithful allies, whom we left destitute of actual necessaries, while they were daily exposing their lives for our service; Religion alone kept them in our interest. This is a fact of public notoriety, and I do not see what can be brought up against it by those who maintain that the Indians never sincerely em-

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[1] The place was never summoned, and discontent broke out among the troops when it was ascertained that the fort, if taken, was to be held, as this would require them to stay and garrison it. Deplorable State of New England, p. 35.

[2] The report of de Subercase is not in the Collections of Documents copied for New York or for Canada.

[3] See Goutin to Pontchartrain, Dec. 29, 1708. Canada Doc., III. ii., 832, "Received" should be "Sold."

brace Christianity, and that no calculation should be made on their conversion. 1707.

Colonel Mark,[1] the commander of the English fleet, having touched on his return at Kaskebé (Casco Bay) and Pescadoué (Piscattaway) where his nation had forts and settlements, there learned that they had already begun public rejoicings at Boston over the capture of Port Royal. This induced him to lie to at Kaskebé, whence he wrote to the Governor-General and Parliament (General Court) that he would not leave that post till he had received their orders; that he begged them not to ascribe the failure of his expedition to him, because his whole army had risen against him, and he would never have ventured to risk a general assault, although he had three thousand effective men; and that the chief officers had supported the mutinous spirit of the soldiers.[2] Why their expedition failed.

It was not the first time that this had happened to the English in America; but frequently the world prefers to believe one man guilty rather than a multitude. Mark was not believed on his own word, and the Boston populace was so exasperated at him that they would have torn him to pieces had he appeared in that city at the moment when news arrived that the siege was raised. By the same conveyance he received orders to remain where he was, to let no one land, and to await the resolution to be taken by

[1] "The General, a Man of no Conduct, having signalized something of a Belluine Courage in some Indian Encounters, the Mob was set upon having him to be a Commander." Deplorable State of New England, p. 35. Penhallow, p. 51, says he was a man of good courage; but the business he undertook was too weighty for his shoulders to bear.

[2] W. Dudley to Geo. Dudley, May 31, speaks of the ignorance, vileness and slothfulness of officers, and disobedience of private soldiers. This W. Dudley was with the expedition as Secretary of War, though a mere boy. Deplorable State of New England, p. 34. Penhallow, p. 50, says: "if the officers on board her Majesty's ship had been true and faithful, matters had succeeded." Douglas, Summary, i., p. 308, speaking of the second expedition, says that the officers of the Deptford were blamed as negligent or refractory. Attacking a fort was probably not as pleasant as taking prizes. In 1707 Capt. Underdown in the Frankland took one 30 gun ship, two 20 gun ships, forced the French to burn two more, and destroyed 228 fishing boats. Lediard.

1707. the Council, which would be imparted to him in season.

Resolution of the Council of Boston.

In fact the Governor-General of New England convoked in haste all the deputies of the cities and towns, depending on the Parliament of Boston, warmly showed them that the nation was forever dishonored, unless they avenged the affront just received by Colonel Mark before Port Royal. He offered to go in person, vowing that he would die sooner than not reduce Acadia to the Queen's rule.

The Assembly decided that it was inexpedient for him to head the expedition in person, that it sufficed to reinforce the fleet with five or six hundred men, and three large ships; three of the chief members of the Parliament embarking with the Governor-General's son, recently appointed her Majesty's Attorney-General. It confirmed Colonel Mark in command, declaring him publicly justified of the charges brought against him, and creating him, in advance, Governor of Acadia.[1]

The English fleet much reinforced, returning to Port Royal.

The preparations for this new expedition were made with a celerity corresponding with the hopes entertained, and on Sunday, August 20th, about ten in the morning, the English fleet appeared at the mouth of the Basin of Port Royal, with as favorable a wind as they could desire. At two o'clock in the afternoon they came to anchor in fine order out of reach of shells. This unexpected sight[2] spread consternation through the fort, and although the garrison had been reinforced by the crew of a royal

[1] March was named commander, but Colonel Hutchinson, Colonel Townsend and Mr. Leverett, members of the Council, were sent with as full power to superintend and direct as the Governor in person would have. Col. Hutchinson makes the force 743. After stopping at Passammaquoddy, March's health and spirits gave way, and he turned over the command to Wainwright. Hutchinson, ii., p. 153. They lost much time at Casco Bay. Deplorable State of New England, p. 36. In the meantime Subercase had made ready for a new attack, and received aid from France. Before the first attack he got supplies from Boston. Ib., p. 19. Douglas, Summary, i., p. 357.

[2] A Flibustier had informed Subercase that the English were preparing to return. Gazette, Feb., 25, 1708.

frigate commanded by de Bonaventure, there was not one but thought it temerity even to attempt to resist so great an army.[1] 1707.

The Governor's firmness and diligence.

De Subercase was almost the only one who did not despair of triumphing once more over the English, and his courage inspirited his troops. His greatest difficulty was to bring in the settlers, many of whom lived seven leagues off; but the enemy, over-confident of their strength, gave him time. They deferred their debarkation till the next day, and the Governor, uncertain as to the spot which they might choose, thought it best to retain within the fort, not only all the garrison, but also all the settlers who came flocking in.

At last, on the 21st, about ten in the morning, eighty long-boats or periaguas were seen full of soldiers, which drew up and landed them all on the side opposite the fort. These troops immediately began their march through the woods, and encamped a quarter of a league above the fort, from which they were separated only by a river.[2] Then de Subercase sent about eighty Indians and thirty settlers to file along this river, with instructions to cross it half a league higher up, and to form ambuscades in positions where they could most easily fall on the detachments that would be sent out to destroy the houses, most of which were on that side.

Various unsuccessful attacks.

The troops which had landed, remained all the 22d in their camp intrenching, and on the evening of the 23d, seven or eight hundred men were detached, and marched out, preceded by a guard of ten soldiers under a lieutenant. This officer neglected the precautions proper in a wooded and unknown country: he fell into ambush and was killed with eight of his men. The other two were taken and brought to the Governor, who ascertained from them that the enemy had embarked their artillery in two

[1] The Gazette omits this, but mentions the arrival of a privateer from St. Domingo with two prizes and 340 barrels of provisions.

[2] The Gazette says the fleet of 22 vessels entered at 1 p. m., on the 20th, and landed 1200 men three quarters of a league below the fort.

1707. small vessels, so as to run them past the fort under cover of the darkness of the night.[1]

On this information he gave orders to light fires along the river as long as the tide was rising, and this precaution prevented the artillery from passing. On the other hand, the detachment, seeing its advanced guard defeated, durst not advance any further, but returned to camp, which no one left on the 24th on account of the constant alarms raised by the garrison of the fort.[2]

The next day the English were shelled out of their camp, and took post opposite the fort;[3] but there Subercase gave them still less repose, seeing that they wished to plant batteries of cannon and mortars there. On the 26th they again decamped, and took up a position half a league lower down; but the next day the Governor sent out a detachment which killed three sentinels and obliged them to decamp for the third time. They took post out of reach of our shells; but some small parties were again sent out, which harassed them incessantly.

On the 29th they seemed engaged only in intrenching; but on the 30th they all re-embarked about four o'clock in the afternoon.[4] De Subercase suspected that this was in order to make an attempt on the other side of the river, and he called in all who were beyond it. In fact, on the 31st at sunrise, the English troops landed under cover of the guns of the fleet and took up their march as soon as they landed.

Before them was a wooded point where the Baron de St. Castin lay in ambush with 150 men; he let them come within pistol-shot, and then gave them three successive volleys with great order. The English stood them with an intrepidity that St. Castin had not expected, and seemed resolved to force a passage at any cost; but they halted

[1] The Gazette says six were killed and two taken; one of the latter was a pilot, who gave information.

[2] Wainwright, in a letter cited by Hutchinson, ii., p. 154, says the French kept up a fire all the 13th O. S. (24th N. S.) and that nine of Capt. Dimmock's men and one Mansfield, were surrounded and killed.

[3] Gazette; in Diereville, Voyage, p. 4.

[4] The Gazette says the 31st.

suddenly, and soon after fifty long-boats were seen making for the ships, and the whole detachment retreating. 1707.

Sharp action.

Then the Governor sent out the Sieur de la Boularderie, ensign in a man-of-war, with 150 men to reinforce St. Castin's troop, and followed close himself with 120 men to support him, leaving de Bonaventure in the fort, where everything was in good condition. He then advanced to reconnoitre the enemy, and he saw them retiring towards their boats. He at once ordered la Boularderie to follow them, and if they seemed about to embark to attack them.[1]

That officer, burning with impatience to engage them, marched too rapidly, and began the attack with, at most, seventy or eighty men; he sprang into one of their intrenchments, carried it, killing many; stimulated by this first success, he threw himself into a second intrenchment, where he received a sabre-wound in the body and another in the hand. St. Castin and Saillant took his place. The two sides met and fought desperately with axes and clubbed muskets, and the enemy, to the number of fourteen or fifteen hundred men, retreated at least fifteen hundred paces towards their boats.

However, some of their officers, ashamed to run before so small a force, rallied them against our men, who in turn fell back towards the wood, St. Castin and Saillant having also been wounded: but seeing the enemy return, they wheeled and showed such a bold front that the English durst not approach. They merely gave a few volleys and again drew off. De Subercase seized the moment to carry off his wounded and rest his troops. After the lapse of an hour he ordered Granger, a very brave colonist, again to lead de la Boularderie's detachment against the English, who did not wait to receive him, but ran to embark, as they did in great confusion.[2]

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[1] Louis Simon de St. Aubin le Poupet, Chevalier de la Boularderie. Anthony de Saillan died September 8. Subercase pursued the English with 250 men, and while in woods, sent on de la Boularderie, St. Castin and de Saillant with 60 men.

[2] The Gazette says that being informed by an Indian that there were only 300 men on the beach, they

1707. The same day the greater part of the fleet weighed anchors and lay to again outside of the basin, whence it was inferred that they had cast their dead overboard, quite a number having been subsequently washed up on the coast. The next day (Sept. 1st) the whole fleet assembled and proceeded to take in wood and water a league outside of the Bay of Fundy. De Subercase had sent men along the coast to watch them, and some reported that as two of their boats passed quite near them, they heard men quarrelling in one of them, and soldiers saying that the commandant deserved to be hung for having uselessly slaughtered so many of his men, and that the Queen would certainly bring him to account.[1]

The siege raised
Loss of the English and French.

A fortnight after entering Port Royal this fleet set sail without having even dared to attack the main works. The French had only three men killed, and at most fifteen wounded. Mr. de Saillant, ensign on a man-of-war, was the only man of mark who lost his life. Some prisoners were taken, among them the pilot of one of the Coast Guards.

This man told Mr. de Subercase that the Queen had the year before informed the Governor-General of New

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pushed on, but in crossing a wheat-field, came suddenly on a large English force, most of whom fled; others resisted till supported by those on the beach, and those who were embarking but returned. The French lost one killed, eleven wounded. The English in all, 120. Penhallow, Indian Wars, p. 51, says Major Walton, of Wainwright's regiment, was the only field-officer on shore, and claims that he repulsed the French. He makes the whole English loss 16 killed, and as many wounded. Hutchinson, ii., p. 155. Haliburton, History of Nova Scotia, i., p. 84, and Williamson, History of Maine, ii., p. 54, and Jefferys, Hist. de la Nouv. Ecosse, p. 130, follow him, and are extremely vague in their accounts of the affair.

[1] A court martial was ordered at Boston, but it never met. Hutchinson, ii., p. 156. Deplorable State of New England, p. 37. March was sent to build a fort at Saco, because he could not take one at Port Royal. Ib. The two expeditions cost £22,000. Ib. p. 38.

See C. Dummer in N. Y. Col. Doc., v., p. 42–3, complaining of neutrality between New York and Canada. "Supercasse is a resolute soldier, and signalized himself very much in his defense of Port Royal." This repulse at Port Royal and the boldness of the French privateers on the coast, as far down as Delaware Bay, created a panic in the colonies, and New York voted £3,000 to defend that city. Ib. pp. 58, 61. Cal. N. Y. MSS., Eng., pp. 352, 354, 355.

England that she wished to have Acadia before the end of the war, and that if he could not draw from his colony sufficient forces for this conquest, she would send him aid; that the Governor and the leading members in Parliament had assured her of the success of the expedition, and that as far back as August last, they had received the thanks of her Britannic Majesty. He added that the Bostoners had exhausted themselves in this last expedition; that nevertheless a greater effort would certainly be made in the spring, and that it was the Queen's intention never to restore Acadia if she once got possession.[1] 1707.

Acadia more neglected than ever.

France was far from being as attentive to the preservation of this province as England was in taking steps to reduce it. The King's vessels which reached Port Royal soon after the siege was raised, brought no goods either for the settlers or the Indians, to the great perplexity of the Governor, who had retained the former in duty and induced the latter to give aid, only by promises which he saw himself unable to fulfill.

He even declares in his letter to the minister that he had been reduced to give his very shirts, the sheets off his bed, in a word, everything that he could absolutely dispense with, in order to relieve the misery of the poorest; he adds too, in the same letter, that there was not a moment to lose, if they wished to make a solid establishment in Acadia; that this colony might in a short time become the source of the greatest trade of the kingdom; that that very year a fleet of sixty ships had sailed from New England to Spain and the Mediterranean, loaded with codfish; that a still more numerous one was soon to start for the West Indies, and that all this fish was taken on the shores of Acadia, that is to say, that the English, at the very time that they could not succeed in conquering that province, found means to enrich themselves by it, while we ourselves derived no advantage from it.[2]

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[1] Gazette, p. 3. On the 10th the frigate Annibal, with provisions and 240 men, and two brigantines entered the harbor to reinforce the besiegers, but at Isle aux Chevres received such a volley that they retired.

[2] Compare letters of Sieur de Bonaventure, July 5, 1707; de Goutin,

1707. Meanwhile the Miamis could not brook it, that the life of the Ottawa chief who had so injured them should be spared, and they incessantly demanded his head from the Commandant at Detroit. These Indians had their chief settlement on St. Joseph's River, where Father Aveneau, their missionary, by unalterable gentleness, and invincible patience, had succeeded in obtaining the same influence that his predecessor, Father Allouez, had gained over them.[1]

New troubles at Detroit.

Misconduct of the Commandant.

Mr. de la Motte Cadillac, who wished to govern these Indians after his own fashion, was loth to permit that any one should have more influence than himself in a town of that nation, more than a hundred leagues from Detroit, and he forced Father Aveneau to abandon his mission.[2] He soon had reason to repent it; the Miamis having no longer a missionary to control their impulses, renewed their clamor for vengeance on Le Pesant. He sought to divert them, summoned Le Pesant to Detroit after assuring him that he had nothing to fear, and in fact only required him to settle at Detroit with his family.

The Miamis, desperate on seeing themselves thus trifled with, killed three Frenchmen, and even committed some ravages in the vicinity of Detroit. La Motte Cadillac was even informed that they had plotted killing him and massacring all the French at Detroit; that some Iroquois and Hurons had entered the plot, and that they would have carried out their nefarious design had not a Wea Indian (Ouyatanon) betrayed them. This information, and the insult which he had just received, made him resolve to declare war on those Indians, and to appearance he made serious preparations for it; but all were much astonished to see his whole preparations end in making terms with them, dishonorable alike to himself and the French nation.

Dec. 22. Canada Doc., III. ii., pp. 728, 730, &c.

[1] Father Claude Aveneau came from France in 1686. Carayon, Doc. Inédits, xiv., p. 117. He had been missionary to the Miamis for 18 years. Vaudreuil and Raudot to Pontchartrain, Nov. 9, 1708. Ferland, Cours d'Histoire, ii., p. 366. He died in Illinois, Sept. 14, 1711. Martin in Carayon.

[2] He placed a Recollect there. See Ferland, Cours d'Histoire, ii., p. 366.

The inevitable result of yielding to the Indians after threatening them, followed. The Miamis did not observe the conditions of the treaty in which they detected weakness, and the French commandant was at last forced to march against them at the head of four hundred men, French and Indians. The Miamis made a brave defence, but their intrenchments were carried, and having no resource but the clemency of the conqueror, they submitted to all that was required of them, and to prevent their committing in future any new freak that would require driving them to the wall, it was deemed expedient to send back their missionary.[1] 1707.

Useful services of Joncaire among the Iroquois.

The Iroquois cantons had all along observed the neutrality strictly; to this the missionaries doubtless contributed greatly by their vigilance and kind manner; but they were greatly aided by the good conduct of the Sieur Joncaire, and the harmony maintained with them by that officer.[2] Joncaire, adopted by the Senecas and highly esteemed by the Onondagas, kept moving constantly from one canton to the other; he informed the missionaries of everything, and took no step except in concert with them, and thus succeeded in baffling all the plans and defeating all the intrigues of the English. He charmed the Iroquois by his frankness; he spoke their language as well as they, a thing that gratified the Indians wonderfully; he won their good will by his liberality; their esteem by his intrepidity, and where prompt action was needed, could

[1] D'Aigremont, whose instructions are in N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., pp. 805–8, says: (Sheldon's Michigan, p. 285–6) that La Motte failed to carry the Miami entrenchment though defended by only 60 men, and drew back; that after seven Frenchmen and two Indians were wounded, and four Indians killed, they came to a parley, and the Miamis promising to give up murderers in six weeks or come and settle at Detroit, La Motte retired with three chiefs as hostages and presents of furs. See Vaudreuil and Raudot, Nov. 14, 1708. Canada Doc., II. xi., pp. 23–79. These Detroit troubles enabled the English to revive their influence in the West through Montour and others. N. Y. Col. Doc., v., p. 65, and ix., p. 830. See Negotiations of the Ottawas at Onondaga. Calendar of N. Y. MSS., English, p. 362, as well as of Miamis. Father d'Heu, May 24, 1708. N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p 815.

[2] For Clerambault d'Aigremont's estimate of Joncaire, see N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 823

1708. always decide on his course unhesitatingly, essential qualities in the position he occupied.

The Iroquois Christians are seduced by the Governor of Albany.

But while they succeeded so well in preventing the heathen Iroquois from siding with the English against us, the Governor of Albany had almost equal success in negotiating with the Christian Iroquois settled in the colony. For some time a manifest decline of piety had been observed in these neophytes, attributable solely to intoxication, of which it was almost impossible to cure them. In spite of the repeated prohibitions of the King, and the exertions of the Governor of Montreal, the liquor trade was again vigorous, and on the occasion of raising a large war-party, formed early in the following spring to operate towards Boston, it was perceived that the former dependence could not be placed on the Iroquois of Sault St. Louis and the Mountain.[1]

A great war-party projected.

This expedition had been decided upon in a great council held at Montreal with the chiefs of all the Christian Indians settled in the colony, and other Abénaquis were to join with a hundred picked Canadians, besides a great number of volunteers, chiefly officers in our troops, making in all four hundred men. Messieurs de St. Ours des Chaillons and Hertel de Rouville were to command the French, and the Sieur Boucher de la Perrière was to lead the Indians. As it was important to keep the project secret till the moment when the warriors should start,[2] and to march rapidly, it was arranged that the two first named commandants should proceed by the St. Francis River with the Algonquins, the Abénaquis of Bekancourt, and the Hurons of Lorette, and that la Perrière with the Iroquois should go by Lake Champlain; that all should meet at Lake Nikisipique,[3] where the Indians bordering on Acadia were to be at the appointed time.

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[1] See Schuyler's letter, post. Charlevoix visited the Sault St. Louis mission in 1708; it was then opposite the Rapid. For the deleterious influence of liquor at that time, see Charlevoix, Journal, iii., p. 141.

[2] In N. Y. Col. Doc., v., p. 86, is the statement of a deserter from a party against Deerfield.

[3] A Mohawk in N Y. C. Doc., v.,

Various incidents well nigh defeated the expedition, and delayed the march of the warriors. At last, on the 26th of July, they started; but des Chaillons and Rouville, on reaching the St. Francis, learned that the Hurons had turned back, because one of their men had been accidentally killed, apparently while hunting, the rest believing, from this, that their expedition would be disastrous. The Iroquois, whom la Perrière was conducting by way of Lake Champlain, soon followed this example, under the pretext that some of them were sick, and that the malady might easily spread through the whole force. 1708.

The Iroquois and Hurons abandon the French.

De Vaudreuil, to whom the commandants wrote communicating this desertion, and asking his orders, replied that even if the Algonquins and the Abénaquis of Bekancourt should also abandon them, they should nevertheless keep on and make a dash at some isolated place rather than return without doing something. Des Chaillons imparted this letter to the Indians, who swore that they would follow wherever he might lead them. They accordingly set out to the number of two hundred, and after marching one hundred and fifty leagues by impracticable roads, reached Lake Nikisipique,[1] but found no Abénaquis there from the Acadian border, those Indians having been obliged to turn their arms elsewhere.

The Abénaquis not at the rendezvous.

They then resolved to march against a village called Hewreuil (Haverhill), composed of twenty-five or thirty well-built houses, with a fort in which the Governor resided. This fort had a garrison of thirty soldiers, and there were at least ten in each house. These troops had but just arrived in the place, having been sent by the Governor of New England, who, on hearing of the march of the

Capture of an English town.

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p. 85, mentions a rendezvous at Oneyade, which another, p. 86, says was at the head of Otter Creek.

[1] This is Lake Winnipiseogee. See Carte de la Partie Orientale de la N. F. Maurault, Histoire des Abnakis, p. 328, defines the name, Winnipiseogee, Lake where they cross on trees. For other definitions see Historical Magazine, I. p. 246. Mr. Trumbull, (Composition of Indian Geographical Names, p. 32, makes it signify Good Water Discharge. See Jouvency, p. 233.

1708. French, had sent similar detachments to all the towns of that district.[1]

Our braves were not dismayed on learning that the enemy were so well prepared to receive them, and no longer trusting to a surprise, resolved to make it up in valor. They rested quietly all that night, and the next day, one hour after sunrise, drew up in battle array. Rouville made a short address to the French to exhort all who had any quarrels with each other to be reconciled sincerely, and embrace, as they all did. They then prayed and marched against the fort. Here they met with a vigorous resistance; but at last entered sword and axe in hand, and set it on fire.

All the houses were also well defended, and met the same fate. About a hundred of the English were killed in these attacks; many others, too slow in leaving the fort and houses, were burned in them, and the number of prisoners was large. There was no booty, as no thought was given to it till everything was consumed by the flames. Moreover the sound of drum and trumpet was heard in all the neighboring villages; and there was not a moment to be lost in securing their retreat.[2]

The victors fall into an ambuscade.

It was conducted with great order, no one having taken more provisions than were needed for the homeward march. This precaution was even more necessary than they imagined. Our men had scarcely gone half a league, when, on entering a wood, they fell into an ambuscade formed by seventy men, who, before uncovering themselves, fired every man his shot. Our braves stood this volley without flinching, and fortunately it did no great damage. Meanwhile all behind was full of horse and foot, in close pursuit, and there was no course but to trample down those who had just fired on them.

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[1] Schuyler notified them of the French expedition.

[2] The French avoided or passed the guards and attacked the body of the town on the river Merrimac. Rev. Mr. Rolfe, Capt. Wainwright, and thirty more, were killed. Hutchinson, ii., p. 157–8; Penhallow's Indian Wars, (Cincinnati ed.) p. 55.

1708.

They took this course without hesitation; each one threw down his stock of provisions and almost all his baggage, and without losing time with fire-arms, at once rushed to close quarters. The English, taken aback by this sudden attack from men whom they supposed they had thrown into confusion, were routed themselves, and could not rally. So that except ten or twelve who escaped by flight, all were killed or taken.

It is forced.

Nescambiouit,[1] who had returned from France the year before, always fought near the commandants; performing wonders with a sabre presented to him by the King. He received a musket-ball in the foot. In the two actions we had eighteen men wounded, three Indians and five Frenchmen killed, among the last, two young officers of great promise, Hertel de Chambly, Rouville's brother, and Vercheres. During the last combat several of the prisoners taken at the attack on Hewreuil (Haverhill) escaped.[2]

Noble conduct of some officers.

All the rest praised highly the kind treatment shown them by their captors during the retreat, which was effected without accident after the encounter just mentioned, and various incidents related of some of the officers and volunteers, were more honorable to them than the signal proofs they had given of their bravery. I was one of the first to learn them, because I was at Montreal, at the very port, when the party landed there about the middle of September. Great praise was given especially to the Sieur Dupuys, son of the Lieutenant Particulier of Que-

[1] According to Maurault, Hist. des Abénakis, (p. 330,) Naskanbiwit means, "He who is so important and raised so high by his merit, that thought cannot reach his greatness." Penhallow, (p. 49,) calls him Assacambuit, says he boasted in Paris of having killed 150 of the English with his own hand, was knighted by Louis XIV., had a pension of eight livres a day, but was so cruel that he killed one of his own people, and stabbed another, for which he had to fly from his tribe, and never returned. Whence Penhallow derived this, we know not. Prejudice, here as elsewhere, probably supplied ideas which he gives as facts.

[2] Hutchinson and Penhallow call it a brush that lasted an hour, and say the French left nine dead. For Hertel de Chambly, see Daniel, Une Page de Notre Histoire, p. 470. Nos Gloires, i., p. 286. Vercheres was a brother of Mlle. Mary Magdalen de Vercheres, who so gallantly held a fort against the Indians in Oct. 1696. Hist. Mag. iv. p. 131.

1708. bec, who had carried his humanity so far as to carry the daughter of the King's Lieutenant at Hewreuil, a good part of the way, the girl being almost unable to walk.[1]

The inaction of the English youth, much more numerous than the French, surprised men in Canada, and one of the prisoners was asked the reason. His answer revealed the true cause of the remissness of the Iroquois led by la Perriere on the last expedition. This man said that it was not the fault of the young men of his nation that they had not raised war-parties against the French this year: that more than five hundred of the most alert had asked and obtained leave of the Governor-General of New England, but that as they were on the point of marching, they received counter orders in consequence of a letter from the Governor of Albany to his General.[2]

Bad faith of the Christian Iroquois.

In this letter he added, the Governor stated that he had just gained control of the Christian Iroquois, who had assured him that no Indian would ever again take the warpath against the English: that it was thus useless to go to any expense to attack the French, who, reduced to their own forces, were in no position to undertake anything, so that they might rest assured that the English colonies would henceforth enjoy perfect tranquillity, which was all they desired.

This same prisoner also said that it was believed at Hewreuil (Haverhill) and in all the cantons, that the party that laid waste that village was merely a detachment from a force of sixteen hundred men, of which the main body was not far off: that the same thing was said at Boston, and that throughout New England they were constantly under arms, which exhausted the people greatly.[2] It was ascertained from another prisoner, that the Governor of Albany had recently made considerable presents to the Christian Iroquois.

These Indians were extremely mortified to see them-

[1] Vaudreuil and Raudot, Nov. 14, 1708, Canada Doc., II. xi., p. 70.

[2] Vaudreuil to Pontchartrain, Nov. 12, 1708. N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 817.

[3] Ib., and Compare Examination of Ensign Samuel Whiting, June 2, 1709. N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 835, also Ib. pp. 833–4.

selves thus discovered, and still more at the contempt with which the Marquis de Vaudreuil affected to treat them, on their deserting the Sieur de la Perrière; for he had merely remarked, that since they were so fond of peace, they might henceforward rest peacefully on their mats, as the French could very well do without them. This stung them to the quick, and they resented it in a way to gratify all the General's hopes. They raised several war-parties, and were joined by the Abénaquis of Bekancourt, whose fidelity, in spite of Schuiler's assertions, had not been suspected, and who had just given such strong proofs of their attachment to our interest. The latter, flushed by recent success; the former, eager to atone for their fault, spread desolation through various quarters of New England.

1708.

They atone for their fault.

On his side, the Governor-General complained warmly to the Governor of Albany that while he left his district and all New York undisturbed, out of consideration for the Dutch and for him personally, and this with the view of keeping the Iroquois to a neutrality no less advantageous to the English colonies than to New York; he not only kept contantly stimulating the cantons to take up arms, but was building a fort in the Mohawk canton, and laboring to debauch from him the Indians domiciliated in the centre of the French colony. On the first point Schuiler made no reply; his answer to the second was this:

Vaudreuil and the Governor of Albany.

"As for the belt which I sent with a view to prevent the Indians from taking part in this war, carried on against the government of Boston, I must avow the fact, but I was impelled to it by Christian charity. I could not help believing it my duty to God and my neighbor to prevent, if possible, these barbarous and pagan cruelties, which have been but too often perpetrated on the unhappy people of that province. You will excuse me, sir, if I tell you that I sicken to think that a war between Christian princes, bound to the strictest laws of honor and generosity, of which their noble ancestors have given so many illustrious examples, has degenerated to a savage and unbridled barbarism. I cannot conceive the possibility of putting an

1708. end to war by such means, and I wish all men thought as I do on the matter."[1]

Pitre Schuiler was a very worthy man, and here expressed only his real sentiments; but he was sufficiently aware of all that had occurred during the last fifty years in that part of America, to know that it was the English who drove us to the stern necessity of letting our Indians act as New England did theirs. He could not be in ignorance of the horrors to which the Iroquois had gone at their instigation during the last war; that even at Boston the French and Abénaquis held as prisoners were treated with an inhumanity little inferior to the cruelties of which he complained so bitterly; that the English had more than once violated the right of nations, and capitulations signed in the best forms, while the prisoners of that nation received none but good treatment from us and our allies.

It was also easy to prove that neither the French nor their Indians had ever resorted to the cruelties he reproached them with except in retaliation; and that before determining to resort to this means to stop the barbarities used by the Iroquois to our officers, our missionaries and our settlers, and the ill-treatment to which the Bostoners subjected our allies, and our own people, the most illustrious in New France, had long been allowed to shed unavailing tears. But what was inexcusable on his part, was that at the very moment that he was endeavoring to disarm the Christian Iroquois, he was employing every possible means to induce the pagan Iroquois to take up arms against us, although he could not doubt that the latter would carry much further than the former, the very furies he detested.[2]

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[1] Peter Schuyler to Vaudreuil, 26 Sept. O.S., 7 Oct. N.S., 1708. N.Y.C. D., ix., p. 818. The letter is very plausible, but sounds queer coming from the very man who initiated the use of Indians against whites in war. At this very time his object was to break up the neutrality sought by the French, and plunge New York into an Indian war. The N. Y. MSS. Eng., vol. 53 p. 80, have '1709, May 23, Commission. Col. Peter Schuyler to command all the Indians in the Expedition against Canada."

[2] On May 6, 1708, Francis de La-

1708.

The English endeavor to debauch from us the Louisiana Indians.

It was not only in Canada that the English sought to turn against us the Indians, whose esteem and affection we were always more successful than themselves in securing. The colony of Louisiana was still in its cradle; nothing could be feebler than our two or three establishments there. They had, it is true, nothing to fear from the native inhabitants of the country, who were well treated and apparently satisfied with us; and this, perhaps, lulled us into a security, whose overweening extent a little more prudence would have corrected.

But the English of Carolina had taken great umbrage at these new settlements, and it was discovered this same year that the Tchactas (Choctaws),[1] our most faithful allies, had received presents from the Queen of Great Britain, the motive of this liberality being to obtain from these Indians a free passage over their territory for the English troops, to induce the other nations to remain neutral or destroy them in case of refusal. D'Artaguette, then acting as Commissaire Ordonnateur in that colony, who informed the Count de Pontchartrain of all this, added that two French voyageurs on proceeding to the Yazoos, found an Englishman with presents to the value of twenty-five thousand crowns, intended for distribution with this view among those Indians and the Illinois. It was also ascertained that in the speeches accompanying these presents, they were told that the Frenchmen they saw among them were the fugitive remnants of a nation destroyed by the English.

Thus our enemies resorted to all means to atone for the losses and affronts they had experienced during this campaign in New England and Acadia; but during the middle of the following winter they sustained a still greater

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val, first Bishop of Quebec, died at the Seminary in Quebec, having resided there most of his life after his resignation of the See of Quebec, Jan'y 24, 1688. Esquisse de la Vie et des Travaux Apostoliques de Mgr. Laval, pp. 71, 77; Juchereau, Histoire de l'Hotel Dieu, p. 436, Houssard's account of his death in the Abeille, I, nos. 9 to 11, and VIII, 31, 32, IX no. 1.

[1] The term Choctaw, will be used hereafter for the French form.

1709. reverse in Newfoundland, which completely destroyed their prestige in the minds of all the tribes on this continent.

Projected expedition in Newfoundland.

I have already observed that the centre and stores of all the English settlements on that island, were on St. John's Bay. De Saint Ovide, King's Lieutenant at Placentia, and nephew of Mr. de Brouillan,[1] the former Governor, proposed to Mr. de Costebelle, the actual Governor, to reduce it, adding that he would do so at his own expense. His project having been approved, he collected a hundred and twenty-five men, Indians, colonists and sailors, who were joined by twenty soldiers recently arrived from Acadia under the command of the Sieur Renou, lieutenant; de Costebelle gave him also twenty-four men from his garrison, commanded by a lieutenant; and de la Ronde, already distinguished in the defence of Port Royal, offered to go as a mere volunteer.[2]

The shortest way was to go by sea, and this was the plan of the commandant of the expedition; but having been detained by headwinds till December 14th, he would wait no longer, and began his march over the snow.[3] On the 20th he reached the head of St. Mary's Bay, whither two double sloops had been sent by de Costebelle to enable our men to cross an arm of the sea, four or five leagues broad, thus saving them two days very severe marching; profiting by this, they arrived, on the last day of the year, within five leagues of St. John without being discovered; but not without experiencing much contradiction from persons who wished ill to St. Ovide, and who seemed to have chosen to come only to thwart his expedition.

Attack and capture of St. John.

As they could succeed only by surprise, they now, before proceeding further, prepared all needed to attack on arriving. This done with incredible celerity, the commandant, the next morning (Jan. 1st), two hours before day, pushed on in a clear moonlight to the head of St.

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[1] Subsequently Governor of Isle Royale or Cape Breton. *(Charlevoix.)*

[2] The whole force was 164. Canada Documents, III. v., page 841.

[3] He set out the 13th. Canada Doc., III. v., p. 842.

John's harbor, whence he reconnoitred the whole place leisurely. He then marched on, led by bad guides, whom he should have distrusted, and who merely sought to defeat his plans. 1709.

As soon as he detected their treachery he moved from the centre, where he was, to the van, where the volunteers were, and put himself at their head, leaving in the place he had just left, the Sieur Despensens, acting as major. He was discovered three hundred paces from the fort he designed attacking, so that some musketry fire opened on him as he approached the first palisade. Some of his volunteers abandoned him, but this did not prevent his pushing on to the covered way, the entrance to which they had fortunately neglected to close. He entered shouting *Vive le Roy*, a cry that roused the courage of his own men, and made the English lose all heart. Leaving fifteen or sixteen men to guard the covered way, he crossed the ditch under the fire of two other forts, which wounded ten of his men, planted two ladders against the rampart, which was twenty feet high, and scaled it with six men, three of whom were dangerously wounded in so doing.

As that moment Despensens arrived with his detachment and at once planted his ladders. He was the first to ascend, entering the fort with two or three others. Renou, Johannis, du Plessis, la Chesnaye, d'Argenteuil and d'Aillebout his brother, followed close on this brave man; some seized the barracks, others the Governor's quarters, while others ran to the drawbridge connecting this fort, called Fort William, with that of the colonists, and the Governor, who was hastening to throw in three hundred settlers, was struck down with three wounds.[1]

Despensens immediately lowered the drawbridge and opened the gate. Then all the rest of the army entered and the English cried quarter. Thus, in less than half an hour the French took two forts, either of which might have long resisted a whole army; one had eighteen guns

[1] Canada Doc., III. v., p. 842.

1709. mounted, four mortars for bombshells, twenty for grenades and a garrison of over a hundred men, commanded by a very brave officer.[1] The other had six hundred colonists well intrenched, ready to come to the succor of the first fort, but a subterranean door by which they expected to pass when occasion required, was found so well closed that it could not be forced open in time. A third and smaller fort still remained at the entrance of the port, but on the other side. De St. Ovide sent to summon it, and the Commandant asked twenty-four hours to reply: this was granted, and at the expiration of that time, although he had eighty men in a strong work, provisions for several months, quite a good supply of artillery, large cannon and one bomb mortar, as well as a bomb-proof vault, he surrendered.

After taking it, de St. Ovide sends a courier to Placentia and a ship to France.

As soon as St. Ovide was in possession of St. John, he dispatched a messenger to inform de Costebelle of the success of his enterprise. Learning then that some of the English had escaped to Belle-Isle, which is only five leagues from St. John; that they had found a ship there and had embarked for England, he deemed it expedient to let the court of France learn what had been achieved, as early as that of London—as moreover he was desirous of receiving orders from France as to his further course: he accordingly ordered Despensens to take a small vessel then lying in the harbor of St. John and sail at once.[2]

This step offended the Governor of Placentia, who was ignorant of the departure of the three Englishmen for Europe, and who, being convinced that the capture of St. John was unknown in England, supposed that vessels would sail as usual for that port, and be easily captured by him. This was at least his first reflection, or the pretext he alleged for censuring his King's Lieutenant. He then changed his mind, and decided that it was useless to consult the court as to the retention of St. John, which he deemed impossible without leaving Placentia defenceless,

[1] Canada Doc., III. v., p. 875. [2] Canada Documents, III. v., p. 844.

that place having for a year been menaced with a siege. 1709.
He moreover judged that the King was disinclined to send him men enough, both to defend his own fort, and maintain himself in a distant port, as difficult to guard as St. John.

He accordingly ordered St. Ovide to demolish the forts and return to Placentia at the latest by the end of March. He sent him a frigate to carry the Governor, engineer and garrison of these same forts, with the munitions of war, of which large quantities were found, a party of three hundred English having been on the point of marching to surprise Placentia.[1] The prisoners and property that could not be put on board the frigate were offered for ransom; and Mr. de St. Ovide, who asked only one hundred men to hold his conquest, and reduce completely all the eastern shore of Newfoundland, not only had the mortification of seeing himself forced to abandon it all, but also of learning that the court, after first sharing the opinion of the Governor of Placentia, had returned to his when it was too late.

St. John is abandoned.

The capture of St. John was not yet known at Quebec when tidings reached it from several quarters, that a large force was preparing at Boston, which was to be supported by a squadron from England, to attack Canada, and that an army of two thousand men was assembling in New York, which was first to seize Chambly and then fall upon Montreal, which is only five leagues distant.[2] More than a year before, Father de Mareuil,[3] missionary at Onondaga, had informed the Governor-General that the Iroquois

De Vaudreuil deceived by an Iroquois.

[1] Canada Documents, III. v., p. 852. The English Governor of St. John's was sent to Quebec. Juchereau, Histoire de l'Hotel Dieu, p. 448–451 Pedley, Hist. Newfoundland, pp. 44–5, is very vague, giving no details, and not even the name of the English Commandant.

[2] See N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., pp. 815, 817, 824.

[3] He died in 1742, at the College of Louis le Grand. *Charlevoix.* See his letter, May 24, 1708. N. Y. C. D., ix., p. 815. The order for his seizure was given, June 29, 1709. Calendar, N. Y. MSS. Eng., p. 365. Although under Bellomont's penal law he was subject to imprisonment for life, the N. Y. Assembly made provision for his decent maintenance. Journal of the Assembly. Hist. Catholic Missions, p. 331.

1709. were strongly urged to declare against us, and that one of these Indians, of great influence in that same canton, was the secret author of this intrigue; but this information found no credence with de Vaudreuil, over-prejudiced in favor of the perfidious Iroquois.

The cantons declare against us.

Meanwhile the treaty was concluded at Onondaga itself, only the Senecas declining to enter it, and the war-song was chanted in the other four cantons. A relative of the Governor of Albany gave early notice to Father de Mareuil, already in receipt of orders from his Superior to leave Onondaga; but that missionary, unable to return to Canada, as the roads were already beset by war-parties, was compelled to accept the offers of the Hollander just mentioned, who offered him a shelter at Albany. He was there detained as a prisoner; but with this exception had every reason to praise the Governor, who welcomed him cordially and treated him with great regard.

Exertions of de Vaudreuil.

He was then summoned to Manhatte, (New York,) and wherever he passed, witnessed the English preparations for the Chambly expedition. De Vaudreuil soon received positive information, which forced him to go to Montreal in January,[1] after giving orders to put the capital in a defensive position, and to hold the regulars and militia ready to march at the first signal. He at the same time raised a party of two hundred and fifty men, which he sent towards Lake Champlain under the command of de Rouville; but that officer, hearing nothing of the enemy, and having no orders to go further, returned to Montreal without doing anything.[2]

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[1] N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 824.

[2] Vaudreuil alludes to Rouville's and de la Perrière's scout. N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 830. They subsequently struck off towards the Connecticut, and on the 23d June, 1709, O. S., attacked Deerfield. Ib. 831. Their force was 180 men. Penhallow's Indian Wars, p. 56. Hutchinson, ii., p. 163. N. H. Hist. Coll., i. p. . On the way, an Iroquois, Ti connondadiha, deserted and reached Albany. See his examination. N. Y. Col. Doc., v., p. 86. June 22.

Vaudreuil experienced in his domestic circle the accidents of war: his wife having been captured at sea by the English in 1709. Juchereau, Histoire de l'Hotel Dieu., p. 455.

1710.

On the 10th of May, Vesche,[1] who in 1705 had sounded all the difficult passages in the Saint Lawrence, under pretext of coming to Quebec to treat for an exchange of prisoners, arrived from England at Boston, and thence posted to New York to press the raising of the troops intended to operate against Montreal. This was soon known in the latter city, as well as the fact that Vesche had presented to Queen Anne a very full memoir to show how easily Canada could be reduced, and the advantage of the conquest to England.

Preparations of the English to attack the colony.

It was added that her Britannic Majesty had accepted his project, and promised him, in case of success, the governorship of New France; that she was arming, in her ports, ten large ships, and ten smaller; that this fleet was to carry six thousand regulars, to be commanded by Macardi, a creature of the Duke of Marlborough; that two thousand English and as many Indians were to attack the district of Montreal; Chicot River, two leagues from Lake Champlain, having been assigned as the rendezvous, and that their canoes and batteaux were to be built there so as to descend to Chambly.[2]

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[1] Samuel Vetch, son of a minister at Edinburgh, was in 1698 connected with the Scots settlement at Darien. In 1700 he came to New York and married into the Livingston family. In 1701 he, apparently in violation of both French and English laws, sent the sloop Mary, with a cargo, to Quebec, but from subsequent revelations, probably with a view to study the river St. Lawrence. In 1705 Gov. Dudley sent him to Quebec to propose an exchange of prisoners, and he actually sounded the river at various parts. Ante, p. 176. In 1708 his plan for subjugating Canada was approved. In 1710 he accompanied Nicholson's Port Royal expedition as Adjutant-General, and was made Governor of Nova Scotia, retaining the office till 1714. Haliburton, i., 93. Before 1719 he returned to England, where he died, April 30, 1732. O'Callaghan, Voyage of the Sloop Mary, pp. xi–xvi.

[2] Col. Vetch was to command a squadron of five ships to be at Boston in May. Five regiments were to come from England, to be joined by 1200 men from Massachusetts and Rhode Island to attack Quebec, while 1500 men from the colonies south of Rhode Island, were to attack Montreal. Lord Lovelace was to appoint the general officer, and as he died, Ingoldsby named Lieutenant-Governor Nicholson. Hutchinson, Hist. of Mass., ii., p. 161. The whole thing miscarried; the fleet having been ordered to Portugal; but this was not known, and the New England troops waited till October. Ib.

1710. On this intelligence de Vaudreuil assembled a great council of war, in which it was decided to march at once on New York, to scatter the tempest gathering there, so that the colony, relieved in that direction, might collect all its forces against the English fleet if it came to Quebec. There was apparently not a moment to lose to carry out this plan, and de Ramezay, Governor of Montreal, offered to execute it. His offer was not accepted at first, apparently from no other reason than the want of harmony between him and the Governor-General. De Vaudreuil merely detached Captain de Sabrevois, with thirty men, to proceed to meet Rouville, not yet returned, and cover his retreat.

De Ramezay marches against them.

Two months later, as no one doubted but that the English were on the march with a large Iroquois and Mohegan force, and news came that they had thrown up several forts at intervals between Orange, (Albany,) and Lake St. Sacrement, (George);[1] de Vaudreuil at last yielded to the entreaties of the Governor of Montreal, assigning him fifteen hundred men, one hundred soldiers, the rest militia and Indians. Several officers volunteered to go, most of them already distinguished on various occasions, but they did not on this occasion do all expected of them.[2]

The expedition fails to succeed. Why?

All being thus arranged, the General went down to Quebec[3] to urge on the works in progress according to his orders, and to detain there all the ships that might come from France, to use them if necessary. On the 28th of July, de Ramezay left Montreal, his van, under Captain de Montigny, composed of fifty French and two hundred Abénaquis, and supported by Rouville with a hundred Canadians. After them came a hundred soldiers of the King's troops under de la Chassaigne.[4] The Governor of Montreal followed, at the head of five hundred Canadians in five companies, commanded by de St. Martin, des Jor-

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[1] N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 833.

[2] For Vaudreuil's account of his action, see N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 830. Ib. 839. Ferland, ii., p. 373–4.

[3] N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 840.

[4] See ante iv., p. 142, v., p. 59; Daniel, Nos Gloires, ii., p. 293.

dis, de Sabrevois,[1] de Lignery and des Chaillons. The Christian Iroquois formed the rear, commanded by Joncaire. Some Ottawas and Nipissings were on the flanks. 1710.

The army marched forty leagues in three days, constantly observing the disposition just described; and there is no doubt that had they pushed on to the enemy's camp, they would have made short work of it; but the want of concert between the officers and the commandant, and the lack of subordination in the troops, which is a necessary consequence, and the erroneous information given to de Ramezay, defeated an expedition, the success of which seemed inevitable. After routing a detachment of one hundred and seventeen men, who had advanced too far, the commander of which was killed, a rumor spread that a corps of about five thousand men was not far off, well intrenched.[2]

The Indians at the same time advised against any further advance, thinking it better to go and defend the advanced posts rather than to go so far in search of an enemy who had such leisure to fortify his camp well, and who could still be reinforced by all the young men of Albany and Schenectady. On this a council of war was held, and it was unanimously resolved to retire. The Governor of Montreal was forced to yield to this deliberation; brought to this decision less by the orders he had received not to expose himself to a general action unless forced to it, than by fear of not being supported by all who were under his orders.[3]

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[1] Charlevoix, Journal, p. 150, calls him a good officer, of one of the first houses in Beauce. Jacques Charles de Sabrevois came over a lieutenant in de Muy's company, was made Knight of St. Louis in 1718, and died at Montreal, of which he was major, in 1727, aged 60. Daniel, i., pp. 128–9.

[2] De Ramezay to M. de Vaudreuil, Oct. 19, 1709; N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 839. The French also encountered Capt. Wright's party from Northampton, Lieut. John Wells was killed and William Moody taken. Penhallow, p. 56.

[3] This affair took place near Crown Point. N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., pp. 830, 841. Ramezay's scouting party, led by his nephew, was discovered by the New York troops. He landed and attacked them as they passed, killing 30. Canada Doc., II. ii., p. 307. Smith, History of New York, p. 120, is silent as to the affair.

This expedition against Canada

1710. On his return to Montreal, towards the middle of September, intelligence was brought by an Iroquois, just come from the enemy's camp, that twenty-five hundred men were on the march to go and build a new fort at the extremity of Lake St. Sacrement, and that six hundred had been detached to occupy a post on Lake Champlain,[1] from which they could in two days reach Chambly. He immediately dispatched this Indian to Quebec, where de Vaudreuil was, and that general, who saw no further danger of being besieged in his capital, embarked on the spot for Montreal, collected a considerable force of regulars and militia, with whom he took post at Chambly,[2] and remained there some time without hearing anything of the enemy.[3]

De Vaudreuil encamps at Chambly.

He then sent out two detachments of fifty men each under des Chaillons and de Montigny, to reconnoitre the enemy. These two officers approached very near the intrenchments; Montigny even, with two Indians, went to count and measure the canoes, and some Abénaquis of his party having advanced between the two largest forts, tomahawked two Englishmen going from one to the other.[4]

The enemy retire.

Some time after, news came that the enemy had burnt their canoes, and laid all his forts in ashes and retired in great confusion, cursing Vesche, the projector of such a disastrous expedition.[5] It was in fact most fatal to the English; but the French did not so soon know either the full extent of the loss which the English sustained on this occasion, or the real cause.

The rumor at first was that they were compelled to retreat by the fear of soon having de Vaudreuil upon them,

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projected by Samuel Vetch, was to be commanded by Francis Nicholson, ex-Lieutenant-Gov. of New York. New York raised 487 men, besides the independent companies, and sent them to Albany, June 27. Thence they proceeded to Wood Creek, and built three forts with many block-houses and store-houses. They had 600 Indians, and maintained their families at Albany. The expedition cost New York above £20,000. Smith, Hist. of New York, p. 120.

[1] Crown Point.

[2] Fort Pontchartrain de Chambly, Arrêts et Ordon., ii, p. 158.

[3] Vaudreuil to Pontchartrain, Nov. 14, 1709. N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 833.

[4] Same to same, May 1, 1710. N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 842.

[5] Ib., p. 839, 842, 845, 847.

with all the forces of the French colony, and, in fact, when news reached Corlar, (Schenectady,) that the Governor-General was at Chambly with a large force, the panic was so great that all the country-people were summoned into the fort; but this panic was in part caused by the total ruin of the English army, as to which nothing definite was known till Father de Mareuil's return. 1710.

This missionary having been exchanged for a nephew of the Governor of Albany,[1] made known all the circumstances, as well as to what New France was indebted for its escape from the great peril it had been exposed to on that side. Four Iroquois cantons, as already noticed, had declared in favor of the English; but these Indians were far from intending to help their allies to expel the French from Canada. The Mohawks had explained to an Abénaqui, the necessity they were under of taking part in a war, of which they had resolved to remain peaceful spectators, and in the great council held at Onondaga, while Father de Mareuil was still there, that religious understood, from the report of some of his emissaries, that the English would derive no great benefit from their alliance with the Iroquois. What defeated the English expedition.

He was told that the Onondaga orator, or some of the sachems of that canton, had asked whether they no longer remembered that their nation, lying between two powerful nations, each able to exterminate them, and both interested in doing so, when they no longer needed their help, their whole attention should be devoted to keeping both always in the necessity of conciliating them, and consequently preventing either from prevailing over the other. That his speech made an impression on the council, and a resolution was adopted to act in the present circumstances according to the rule of policy hitherto observed. Iroquois policy.

In fact, the Iroquois had no sooner joined the English army, than, believing it strong enough to take Montreal

[1] Lieut. Barent Staats, of the N. Y. militia, whose aunt Peter Schuyler married.

1710. without their help, they thought only of means to destroy it, and resorted to the following. The army was encamped on the banks of a little river; the Iroquois, who spent almost all the time hunting, threw into it, just above the camp, all the skins of the animals they flayed, and the water was thus soon all corrupted. The English, unsuspicious of this treachery, continued to drink this water, and it carried off so many, that Father de Mareuil, and two officers who went to Orange (Albany) to conduct him to Canada, observing the graves where the dead were buried, estimated the number at over a thousand.[1]

They cause the destruction of the English army.

Why the English fleet did not reach Quebec.

It is certain that this mortality, the cause of which was not known to the English till long after, compelled the army to leave so fatal a spot, where they saw well that they could not avoid utter defeat if the French should come and attack them. They returned to Manhatte, (New York,) to learn, on arriving, that the English vessels intended to besiege Quebec had not reached Boston at all, having been sent to Lisbon, where the ill success of the Portuguese arms on the frontiers of Castile, early in this campaign, inspired fears that the King of Portugal would be forced to make terms with Spain, unless he was promptly relieved.[2]

The Iroquois send deputies to de Vaudreuil.

At last, during the ensuing winter, the Onondagas sent deputies to Vaudreuil to ask to be received into his favor. They first assured him that they had had no design of injuring the French; but gave no explanation as to the means they had adopted to neutralize the vast preparations of the English. They explained that the war had not been undertaken by the unanimous consent even of the

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[1] Hutchinson says, (ii., p. 161,) that he had a letter dated New York, Nov. 7, 1709, stating that many of the soldiers who were at the lake, died as if they had been poisoned. The Sieurs de la Perrière and Dupuy were sent to effect the exchange. N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 842. See Penhallow, p. 57. For New York's part in the expedition see Smith, pp. 119–120. N. Y. Col. Doc., v. p. 164. The discontent was great, and the L't-Gov. of New York declined to attend the Congress of Governors at Rehoboth, R. I., in October. Hist. Magazine, iii., pp. 89, 123; while Col. Schuyler was sent to England with five Mohawk sachems. Smith, 120–1. N. Y. Col. Doc., v. p. 165. N. Y. Col. MSS. Eng. p. 363.

[2] See note ante, (p. 171.)

cantons, which had taken up arms. In fine, they believed the Governor so little incensed against them that they had the hardihood to ask him to pardon the Dutch, and especially Mr. Schuiler for breaking the truce, averring that he had not been free to keep it longer.[1] 1710.

The Iroquois send deputies to de Vaudreuil.

The fact was so: moreover the position of colonial affairs forbid his rejecting the excuses of such a suppliant, at the risk of making him an irreconcilable enemy. This the Iroquois saw full well, and they believed themselves entitled to some gratitude for taking the step they did. Moreover, this nation had always shown that it disapproved the war between the French and English, and in a second audience given by the General to the deputies, the spokesman, after expressing his regret to see two nations whom he esteemed, he said, almost constantly engaged in mutual destruction, he added with a frankness now scarcely known except among savages: "Are you then both drunk? or is it I who have lost my senses?"

He also proposed an exchange of prisoners between the Dutch and French, and it was accepted and executed in good faith on both sides.[2] De Vaudreuil then told the deputies that his allies only awaited his permission to declare war on them, and that if they wished to avoid that annoyance, they must remain quiet; that on the first movement he noticed on their part, he would leave all his children free to dash in upon them.

Scarcely had the Onondagas gone, when some Mohawks were seen arriving, who spoke nearly in the same tone, and protested that they would never lift the hatchet against the French, but as most of them had settled in the neighborhood of Orange (Albany), whither Schuiler had succeeded in drawing them, de Vaudreuil felt that it would not be

[1] Vaudreuil to Pontchartrain, May 1, 1710. N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 842.

[2] Lieut. Staats was exchanged for Rev. Peter de Mareuil, the last Jesuit missionary at Onondaga. N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 836; his house and chapel had been burnt at Schuyler's instigation, and he himself taken really as a prisoner to Albany. Four others were also exchanged. Ib. pp. 842, 847. He must have reached Montreal in April 1711. Ib. p. 855.

1710. easy for them to keep their word if the English of New York made any new attempt against the colony. However, he received the deputies well, and dismissed them quite satisfied.[1]

Unsuccessful expedition to Hudson's Bay.

The joy felt in Canada over the defeat of Vesche's great projects was somewhat damped by news of the failure of an attack by Sieur de Mantet on Fort Saint Anne in Hudson's Bay, in which that officer lost his life, and this too was a blow to the colony. The Governor-General seems to have met with some reproaches on this occasion, for in a letter addressed to de Pontchartrain the next year, he uses this language:[2]

"In regard to the result of the party sent to Hudson's Bay, if that expedition had not all the success I had reason to anticipate, they are strokes of fortune for which I cannot answer. My orders were very well considered. Fort Quitchitchouen, (Saint Anne), is not impregnable; the Sieur de Mantet had good men, provisions still for four months; he pushed up to the palisade undiscovered, and failed where a thousand others would have succeeded. It was not lack of courage or experience; but from counting too much on the bravery of those around him, and an insufficient reconnoissance of the place before attacking it. Many of those who went there have proposed to me to return, even with a smaller force, and without any expense to his Majesty."[3]

Early in the following year it was known at Quebec that Acadia was again menaced, and it was soon after ascertained from English prisoners, that six men-of-war had arrived at Boston with a bomb galliot and troops for landing, in order to besiege Port Royal.[4] Some of these pris-

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[1] By Ordinance, (April 13, 1709.) the slavery of negroes and Pawnees was recognized in Canada. Montreal, Hist. Soc. Memoires, p. 4.

[2] Jérémie, Relation de la Baye de Hudson, (Voyages au Nord, iii., p. 335,) describes the river, but omits all notices of those events as he was not then at the Bay.

[3] Vaudreuil to Pontchartrain, Oct. 25, 1710. Canada Doc., III. v., p. 138. Raudot to same. Ib. 135–7.

[4] Vaudreuil, Oct. 31, 1710, announces hearing, Sept. 6, that 3 men-of-war, a bomb-ketch and transports with 1,000 men were at Boston, where they were to take in 1,500 more to attack Port Royal. N. Y.

PLAN DU PORT DE LA HAIVE

Situé à la Côte d'Accadie

Echelle d'une Lieue commune de 2300 Toises.

1 Lieue

oners added that it was the design of the Queen of Great Britain that after capturing that place, the squadron which took it should winter there, to come the next spring to besiege Quebec, after being reinforced by another squadron which was to sail from the ports of England with this view, before the close of the winter.

New expedition fitted out at Boston.

This information, which proved but too well founded, alarmed de Vaudreuil, accustomed to similar rumors every year, less than some recent outrages of our allies on the Iroquois, who nevertheless contented themselves with asking redress from him, although the Governor of New York used every exertion to induce them to take up arms. De Vaudreuil promised them the satisfaction they desired, and they positively refused to declare against us.

Dudley fared no better with the Abénaquis, whom he merely asked to remain neutral; they would never listen to any terms with him, and during this whole campaign New England beheld everywhere parties of these Indians and Frenchmen, who desolated a very extensive tract of country. On his side, de Subercase did not slumber. He had attracted to Acadia several West India buccaneeers, whom he employed advantageously to make dashes on the English, whose commerce was thus greatly damaged.

The Iroquois refuse to declare against us, and the Abenaquis to remain neutral.

He derived also another advantage, the captures made by these privateers keeping the colony in plenty, and enabling him to make rich presents to the Indians. This success inspired him with the design of forming a large settlement at Port de la Héve, but he had neither leisure nor means to carry it out. The buccaneers deserted him, when he needed them most; the minister of the navy, from whom he had solicited one or two frigates to cruise off the Acadian coast, could not send any, and soon after he had to prepare to sustain a new siege in Port Royal.[1]

Col. Doc., ix., p. 849. Col. Nicholson arrived at Boston July 1st, 1710, in B. M. ship Dragon, with the Falmouth and a bomb-ship, several transports, a regiment of marines, provisions and stores. Penhallow, p. 58. Lediard, Naval History, p. 848, makes the Dragon and Falmouth arrive July 15th from Spithead; the Leostaff and Feversham from New York.

[1] See letters of Subercase, Dec. 26, 1708, Jan'y 3, 1710. Canada Doc., III. v., pp. 824, 843.

1710.

Although the buccaneers had disappeared from the Acadian coast, the Bostoneers could feel no security against their return, and saw what injury those men could do their commerce, by the ease with which they could always take refuge in the ports of Acadia. On the other hand, the ravages which the Abénaquis and Canadians continued to make in New England, had roused the country people to fury.[1] At last Dudley and the Council at Boston, learning de Subercase's project, had no doubt but that he would effect it in time, if the peace left France in possession of Acadia, the inevitable result of which would be, that the English would entirely lose the liberty of conducting fisheries in that sea.

De Subercase's plan for defending Acadia.

All these considerations induced the English court to expel the French from Port Royal, if it required all the forces of the English colonies, and even part of those in England. At this juncture there was something inexplicable in de Subercase's conduct. He had long been warned of the storm gathering against him, compared with which all he had hitherto sustained were but mere preludes. He incessantly appealed to de Vaudreuil and de Pontchartrain for aid. The former sent him some soldiers and officers; a reinforcement intended for Quebec, entered his harbor, which he was authorized to use as long as he deemed necessary; yet in the moment of greatest danger he sent off this reinforcement and the auxiliaries from Quebec, with loud complaints of the officers, who in turn complained as loudly of him.[2]

The English resolve to take Acadia at any cost.

Strange conduct of de Subercase.

His own garrison and the settlers in Acadia were not more favorably disposed towards him, and certainly, if the English had been aware of the real position of affairs at Port Royal, they might have spared half the expense

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[1] After the destruction of Haverhill Aug. 29, 1708, O. S., the Abénaquis in Maine committed no ravages and actually proposed peace. Williamson's Maine, ii., p. 57–8. For the attacks from Canada on Deerfield, June 22, 1709; Exeter, May 6; see Penhallow's Indian Wars, pp. 55–6.

[2] Vaudreuil to Pontchartrain, Oct. 31, 1710. N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 848–9. Same to same, Ap'l 25, 1711. Ib. p. 853.

incurred for the expedition got up to carry out their design.[1] The well founded opinion entertained by them of Subercase's valor and ability turned subsequently into proof against him, and although he cleared himself before those to whom he was obliged to justify his conduct, his reputation sustained a severe blow in the public mind, which often stubbornly condemns men who have been acquitted in the Sovereign's tribunals. 1710.

The English fleet arrives at Port Royal.

Be that as it may, in August, 1710, an English sixty gun ship, a brigantine and a houpe,[2] approached Port Royal, and held it so blockaded that no relief could enter, and then for two weeks the garrison slept on the ramparts and in the batteries which had been hastily repaired as far as possible.[3]

On the 5th of October fifty-one English vessels entered the basin and anchored before the fort. This fleet was composed of four sixty gun ships, two of forty guns, one of thirty-six, and two bomb galliots; the rest were transports and storeships,[4] all under General Nicholson, commander-

[1] The English fleet left Nantasket Sept. 18, O.S., 29, N. S., consisting of three fourth rates, the Dragon, 50, Commodore Geo. Martin; Chester, Matthews; Falmouth, 50, Walker Ryddel; two fifth rates: the Leostaffe, 32, Geo. Gordon, and Feversham, 36, Rob. Paston; also the star bomb Rochfort, and Province Galley, Southack, and 24 transports from the colonies and some from England, making in all, 36 sail. The troops were Redding's regiment of marines from England, and six Massachusetts, Connecticut and R. Island regiments. Nicholson, General, Vetch, Adj't-General. Hutchinson, Hist. Mass., ii., p. 165; Penhallow, Indian Wars, p. 59; Ledyard, Naval History, p. 848.

[2] This term is not in dictionaries, and the preceding note does not enable us to guess its meaning.

[3] De Gannes in a document entitled "Observations sur les Erreurs de la Relation du Siege du Port Royal de l'Acadie en la Nouvelle France faitte sur de faux memoires par le reverend Pere Charlevoix de la Compagnie de Jesus," says there was only one vessel, a 60 gun ship; that it did not arrive till September; that the ramparts were in good condition, and that the garrison did not sleep on them. The whole fleet arrived Sept. 24, O. S., Oct. 5, N. S. Hutchinson, ii., p. 165; Lediard, p. 848, losing one transport and 26 men on entering. Subercase wrote Oct. 1, announcing his being invested. Murdoch N. S. i p. 311, 874.

[4] See note 1.

De Gannes says 3 men-of-war, 1 galliot and 7 or eight transports. Francis Nicholson was L't-Gov. of New York and New England in 1688; of Virginia in 1690; Governor of Maryland, 1694–8; of Virginia 1698–1703; Commander of the Canada expedition in 1709–11; Commissioner of accounts, 1714. I find no notice of his birth or death.

1710. in-chief of all the troops of the Queen of England on the continent of America.

Condition of the garrison.

On the 6th the enemy landed on both sides of the river, the stronger force on the fort side.[1] De Subercase did not contest their landing or occupy several difficult positions where he might have checked them, or lay any ambuscades for them, because he could not depend on either soldiers or settlers, and was convinced that not a man whom he might send forth would ever return. Hence from the outset he despaired of saving the place for the King. His only aim was to come forth with honor to himself, as he had not three hundred effective men, and the besiegers numbered three thousand four hundred men, besides officers and sailors.[2]

The enemy besiege him.

The troops which landed, finding nothing to oppose their march, advanced directly on the fort; but when the Governor got them within range of his guns, he opened such a galling fire that he checked them, killed many, and even compelled them to fall back under shelter of a rideau, covered by which they entered the wood and marched on.[3] The next day they crossed a mill stream, where two hundred men might have cut them to pieces; but the Governor had not imagined that they would undertake to pass it[4] that day, as they seemed busy planting their cannons and supporting a galliot which had begun throwing shells the day before.[5] Some settlers and Indians at first skir-

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[1] Col. Reading and Rednap with a company of marines and 150 men under Maj. Mullens. Penhallow, p. 59. Cols. Vetch and Walton landed on the north side with Mascarene's grenadiers. Ib.

[2] De Gannes says the English were only 1400 including the Redein (Redding) regiment of 600 men.

[3] De Gannes denies that he fired at all, or had guns in battery till after the capitulation, when 3 volleys with blank cartridges were to be fired on both sides. Hutchinson also ii., p. 167, notes this passage and says he finds nothing of it in the English accounts.

[4] De Gannes attributes the discouragement of the garrison to de Subercase, who made no effort to check the English advance, and prohibited firing on them. Hutchinson, ii., p. 165, says the French threw shot and shells, but may merely follow Charlevoix.

[5] De Gannes says all kept out of range except this galliot. Penhallow says it threw seven shells, which the fort returned.

mished against the first who crossed, and then escaped through the woods. 1710.

In the evening the galliot reopened its bombardment of the fort, but with little effect, to the surprise of the English General; it enabled him, however, to send past the fort twenty-two flat-boats, carrying all his artillery, mortars and munitions of war. On the 8th, de Subercase, seeing where the enemy wished to plant batteries, fired so truly as to compel Nicholson, after losing many men, to beat a retreat.[1]

The next day the cannonade lasted till noon. The besieged threw some shells into the English camp and into their quarters, causing great disorder.[2] A rain-storm that set in and lasted till evening, suspended fire on both sides. As soon as it ceased, the two galliots approached the fort and threw forty-two shells of two hundred pounds weight.[3] The besiegers also endeavored to throw in carcasses;[4] but they all burst on leaving the mortar. The English had a batteau loaded with them; but it was lost at the mouth of the harbor with its whole crew of forty men.

On the 10th they worked at their trenches and batteries, and towards evening again began to throw shells, keeping it up all night; only two, however, fell inside the fort, and these did no great harm. Five others burst in the air, and a fragment wounded la Tour, an officer, dangerously, and another carried off one corner of the King storehouse.[5] I must, however, note that in the only account of this siege that I could discover, there is some confusion as to these different bombardments, the dates of which are not given exactly.

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[1] Hutchinson, ii., p. 167, cites this also as unsupported.

[2] De Gannes says all the statements of cannonade and shelling by Subercase are false. Penhallow says "the fort fired very smartly" on the 27th, and on Oct. 1st they returned the British fire with "great guns and mortars."

[3] De Gannes says seventy-five 75 lbs shells were thrown, only three of which entered the fort, doing no injury.

[4] Carcasses were shells filled with irregular bits of metal to tear and lacerate.

[5] De Gannes says two officers were injured, not by shells but by powder of a cannon that burst.

1710. That same night, fifty settlers and seven or eight soldiers deserted, and the next day all the remaining settlers presented a petition to the Governor, requesting him to consider the state they were in; that they had been so long on foot, night and day, that they were ready to sink under this excessive fatigue. In reality their ill-will and the general discontent against de Subercase had discouraged them, and they were afraid that no quarter would be shown them, if they did not surrender before all the batteries were planted and ready to annihilate the fort.

Murmurs and desertions among the besieged.

The Governor replied that he would examine their request, but perceiving the soldiers to be equally alarmed, and most of them openly threatening to desert, he called a council of war[1] on the 11th. It was there unanimously voted that they must think only of obtaining a favorable capitulation. Ensign de la Perelle was at once dispatched to the English General. That officer first asked permission to send all the women out of the fort, but this was apparently refused.[2]

The governor surrenders the fort.

La Perelle, it is certain, remained in the English camp, and Nicholson sent one of his officers[3] to de Subercase, who informed him that he wished to treat directly with his General. On this statement Nicholson sent Colonel Redin[3] to the fort with full power. The Governor received him on the glacis, took him to his quarters, and was long closeted with him.[4] On coming forth he told his officers in a loud tone that all was arranged, and the next day Colonel Redin and Captain Mathieu, who had acted as hos-

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[1] De Gannes denies that Subercase held a council of war or convened the officers.

[2] De Gannes says de la Perelle was detained for not halting at a certain spot, and for beating his drum up to the lines, against the laws of war. Hutchinson also, (ii., p. 165) says "the officer not observing the rules of war, was put under arrest." This was Sept. 29, O. S., Oct. 10, N. S., and on Oct. 1, the English batteries opened. Penhallow, pp. 60, 1.

[3] Col. Redding.

[4] Penhallow and Hutchinson say Col. Tailer and Capt. Abercrombie were sent with a summons to surrender; see Nicholson's summons in Canada Doc., III. ii., p. 877, Mem. des Commissaires, ii., p. 642.

tage for la Perelle,[1] returned to the camp, where Nicholson signed the capitulation.[2] 1710.

On the 16th the garrison marched out of the fort to the number of one hundred and fifty-six men, all in a wretched condition, with arms and baggage, and all the honors of war; but they could not carry off the mortars and artillery accorded to them for want of oxen, the settlers having sent all their cattle far into the woods. The Governor, accordingly, by the advice of his officers, kept only one mortar and sold all the rest to the English General to pay the King's debts.[3] There were no provisions left in the fort,[4] and the very next day Nicholson was obliged to issue rations to the French. He then repented his haste in granting terms to men whom famine would soon have forced to surrender at discretion.[5]

Some expeditions in Newfoundland.

In Newfoundland the war was conducted with more success, or at least more glory to our arms. De Costebelle had proposed to government an expedition against Carbonniere Island, the only post on that island not yet wrested from the English. The minister not only approved his project, but directed him to omit nothing to expel the enemy from all their possessions on that shore, and promised him assistance, which did not however arrive in time.

While awaiting it, de Costebelle thought himself strong enough to take Carbonniere: he formed two detachments,

[1] De Gannes says he was sent to the English camp as a hostage for Matthew, without stating why the latter came to the fort.

[2] The capitulation, dated Oct. 2, 1710, is in French, in Canada Doc., III. ii., 877: in English in Hutchinson, Hist. Mass., ii., pp. 166–7; Haliburton's Nova Scotia, i., p. 86; Lediard, Naval History, p. 348. The account in Jefferys', Hist. de la N. Ecosse, p. 132, is very brief. De Subercase was taken to Rochelle. See his promise of a passport. Memoires des Commissaires, ii., p. 340.

[3] He sold them for 7,499 livres 10 sous. Haliburton, History of Nova Scotia, i., p. 86.

[4] De Gannes says they had three months' provisions.

[5] De Gannes (May 30, 1743) says that de Subercase was courtmartialed at Rochefort for his conduct. He had been conveyed by the English to Rochelle with 258 soldiers and officers and settlers, making in all 481 persons. Haliburton, i., p. 87. Vetch, who had been Adjutant General of the expedition, was left in command of the English garrison of 200 marines and 250 volunteers as Governor of Nova Scotia. O'Cal-

1710. one marching overland,[1] the other embarking on three sloops, all under Gaspar Bertrand, a brave settler of Placentia, already distinguished on several occasions. The two detachments used such precautions and maintained such order on their route, that they reached Trinity Bay, quite near Carbonniere, undiscovered.

There they found the Queen's frigate Valeur, of 30 guns, and a crew of one hundred and thirty men, which had convoyed in a fleet of merchantmen. The French sloops, manned by twenty-five men each, boarded it in broad day. Bertrand was the first on board, and was so well supported, that, after killing the English captain, and putting all the officers hors de combat, he drove the crew between decks. They defended themselves stoutly, and unfortunately the French commandant was killed. Dacarette, a very resolute young man, took his place, and at last forced the English to surrender.[2]

A moment after, two cruisers of the same nation, one of 22 guns, the other of 18, approached the frigate and began to cannonade the French on both sides. The latter, partly discouraged by Bertrand's death, could not nerve themselves for a new fight, and all that Dacarette could do to avoid risking an action with such unequal force and discouraged men, was to cut his cables, hoist sail and leave the bay, favored by a wind which soon bore him out of sight of the two cruisers. Then the detachment on land, seeing no prospect of uniting with Dacarette's party, fell on the settlement, plundered the houses, and returned loaded with plunder to Placentia, where the sloops soon followed with their prize.[3]

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laghan, Voyage of Sloop Mary, p. xvi. Haliburton, i., p. 88. The capture of the place cost the English in all only 40 or 41 men. Ib. p. 87. See Vaudreuil's letter on de Subercase. N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., pp. 853–5.

[1] Under the Sieur de Bellestre. Costebelle to Pontchartrain, Aug. 7, 1710. Canada Doc., III. v., p. 963.

[2] St. Ovide de Brouillan to the minister, Sept. 23, 1710. De Costebelle to same, Sept. 30. Canada Doc., III. v., p. 965, 968. Lediard, Naval History, p. 848, admits the surprise and capture of the Valeur, but says the English took nine French ships off Newfoundland in 1710.

[3] The Valeur was fitted out for a cruise under St. Ovide de Brouillan.

The capitulation of Port Royal had not however been worded so as to prevent all misunderstanding. Soon after the evacuation of the place, Nicholson sent to the Marquis de Vaudreuil, Major Levingston,[1] and de Subercase sent the Baron de St. Castin to inform him of the articles agreed upon;[2] but the former, understanding them in his fashion, declared to the French General, that according to the capitulation, the whole country, except what was within cannon-shot of the fort of Port Royal, and which was alone included in the capitulation, was left at his discretion, as well as the inhabitants.[3] 1710. Nicholson's letter to Vaudreuil.

He added that in reprisal for the unheard-of cruelties wreaked by our Indians on the subjects of her Britannic Majesty, if after his letter received, the French and their allies continued their hostilities directly or indirectly, he would at once inflict the same military executions on the principal inhabitants of Acadia or Nova Scotia.[4] He finally proposed an exchange of prisoners, threatening, in case of refusal, to give up to the Indian allies of New England, as many Frenchmen as there were English prisoners in the hands of ours.

The Marquis de Vaudreuil replied that he deemed him

De Costebelle's instructions, Oct. 14. Canada Doc., III. v., p. 979. He announces her capture, June 18, 1711. Ib. p. 1023. Letter of July 23, in Walker's Journal, p. 282.

[1] Hutchinson had Livingston's journal and condenses, (ii., p. 168, note.) He went from Port Royal to Penobscot, where he was kindly entertained by St. Castin, at his own house, and they seem to have thence gone on together. On the way, St. Castin saved his life. Histoire de l'Hotel Dieu, p. 459.

[2] They reached Quebec, Dec. 20th. Smith, History of Canada, I. p. 170, citing Jesuit's Journal, since lost. Hutchinson and Penhallow citing Livingston's Journal, say Dec. 16.

[3] Nicholson considered the benefit of the 5th article, to extend 3 miles from Annapolis Royal, and the persons comprehended in it, according to a list handed him by Mr. Allen, to amount to 481 persons. Memorandum in Hutchinson's Hist. of Massachusetts, ii., p. 167. They had two years to remove corn, cattle and furniture. Nova Scotia Doc., p. 12. Queen Anne extended these privileges and power to sell lands to all the Acadians. Letter, Ib. p. 15, n. Nicholson, however, refused to allow them to remove with their cattle and corn to Cape Breton. Ib. p. 4. They numbered about 2500, and had cattle worth £40,000. Ib. pp. 5–6.

[4] De Costebelle to Pontchartrain, July 24, 1711, in Sir H. Walker's Journal, p. 286.

1710. too well versed in the laws of war to be ignorant that they did not authorize him to resort to reprisals on settlers who had surrendered to him on his express word that he would treat them well; that the French nation should never be accused of inhumanity; and that the English prisoners actually in the colony, could give testimony on the point, to which he had no hesitation in referring; that many had been withdrawn at great expense and out of pure charity, from the hands of the Indians, who on their side did not usually ill-treat them; but that it was in no wise just to make the French responsible for their conduct; that it had not depended on him to stop this disastrous war long before, and that all the evils it entailed should be imputed only to those, who had refused neutrality between the two colonies.

As to an exchange of prisoners, the French General protested that he would willingly consent; but that they must begin by ascertaining the number on both sides; that he could not dispose of those in the hands of his allies, and that the threat of giving up Acadian settlers to the Indians of New England, in case those of New France refused to give up theirs, was against all the rules of justice and humanity; that if it was carried out, he would be compelled to treat all the English in his power in the same way; in conclusion, that he asked him to give a positive answer by the two officers who delivered his letter and state the number of his prisoners and the place to which he would bring them, that he might send his there.[1]

The two officers sent by de Vaudreuil with his letter to Nicholson, were the Sieurs de Rouville and Dupuys, and in that which he wrote to the Count de Pontchartrain to inform him of what had occurred, he gave as the motive of his selection, that being also obliged to write by the same conveyance to Dudley, Governor-General of New England, he wished the two best partisan officers in all Canada to have this means of knowing the country, where they might subsequently have occasion to operate.[2]

[1] Vaudreuil to Pontchartrain, April 25, 1711. N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 864.

[2] Ib. De Costebelle to same, July 24, 1711, in Sir H. Walker's Journal,

1710.

He at the same time appointed provisionally, and till he received the orders he had solicited from the Court, the Baron de St. Castin, already Commandant at Pentagoët, his Lieutenant in Acadia, and sent him instructions to retain the King's subjects remaining in that country, in the obedience due his Majesty.[1] These inhabitants had deputed to him the Sieur de Clignancourt, with a letter signed by the most influential among them, in which they complained greatly of the harsh treatment they received from Sieur Vesche, who commanded at Port Royal, and begged him to obtain them some relief and some comfort.[2]

The Baron de St. Castin Commandant in Acadia.

The General at the same time learned that the Indians bordering on Acadia seemed somewhat cooled towards us since the capture of Port Royal; that the English kept incessantly repeating that they would not halt in such a fine road, and that the reduction of the rest of New France would not cost them much more than that of Acadia.

The Indians of that part cooled towards us.

This intelligence induced the Governor-General to dispatch two Frenchmen and two Indians over the snow with letters for the missionaries in those parts, exhorting them to redoubled zeal to retain their neophytes in our alliance, and he instructed these same envoys to visit all the French settlements in Acadia, ascertain the exact disposition of the inhabitants, and assure them that impossibilities would be done to prevent their being in want of anything.[3]

The Acadians visited by Vaudreuil's orders.

News also came that the Governor of New York was redoubling his efforts to induce the Iroquois cantons to join an offensive league against us, and fear of having these Indians upon us at a time when we were menaced with an attack by all the forces of the English, produced a great impression on the colonists, already intimidated by

Various other precautions taken by him.

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p. 285. Dupuy was son of Paul Dupuy, lieutenant-particulier de Quebec. (Ante, iv., p. 182.) Paul died Sept. 20, 1713. Juchereau, p. 570. His two sons died in 1714 and 1716: his daughters became nuns.

[1] N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 854. Nomination du Sieur Baron de St. Castin, Commandant de Pentagoet &c., Jan'y 1, 1711. Canada Doc., III. ii., p. 883. Evidently Baron Anselm, the son.

[2] Copie d'une lettre des principaux habitants de Port Royal, Nov. 13, 1710. Ib. p. 879. Murdoch, i., p. 321.

[3] N. Y. Col. Doc, x., p. 854. Lettre de Christophe Cahouet, July 20, 1711. Canada Doc., III. ii., p. 887. Murdoch, i., p. 323.

1710. the loss of Acadia. This induced de Vaudreuil and Raudot to summon down to Montreal the greatest number possible of Upper Indians, both to reassure the colony, and to hold the Iroquois in respect.

They accordingly dispatched to Michilimackinac persons of influence among our allies to exhort them to come at once to give their Father proofs of their fidelity and attachment. This General then proceeded in person over the ice to Montreal, where he was informed that his presence was necessary to rouse the domiciliated Indians from the consternation, caused, it was said, by the menaces of the English; but he found that it was a false alarm, these Indians being in the best possible disposition.

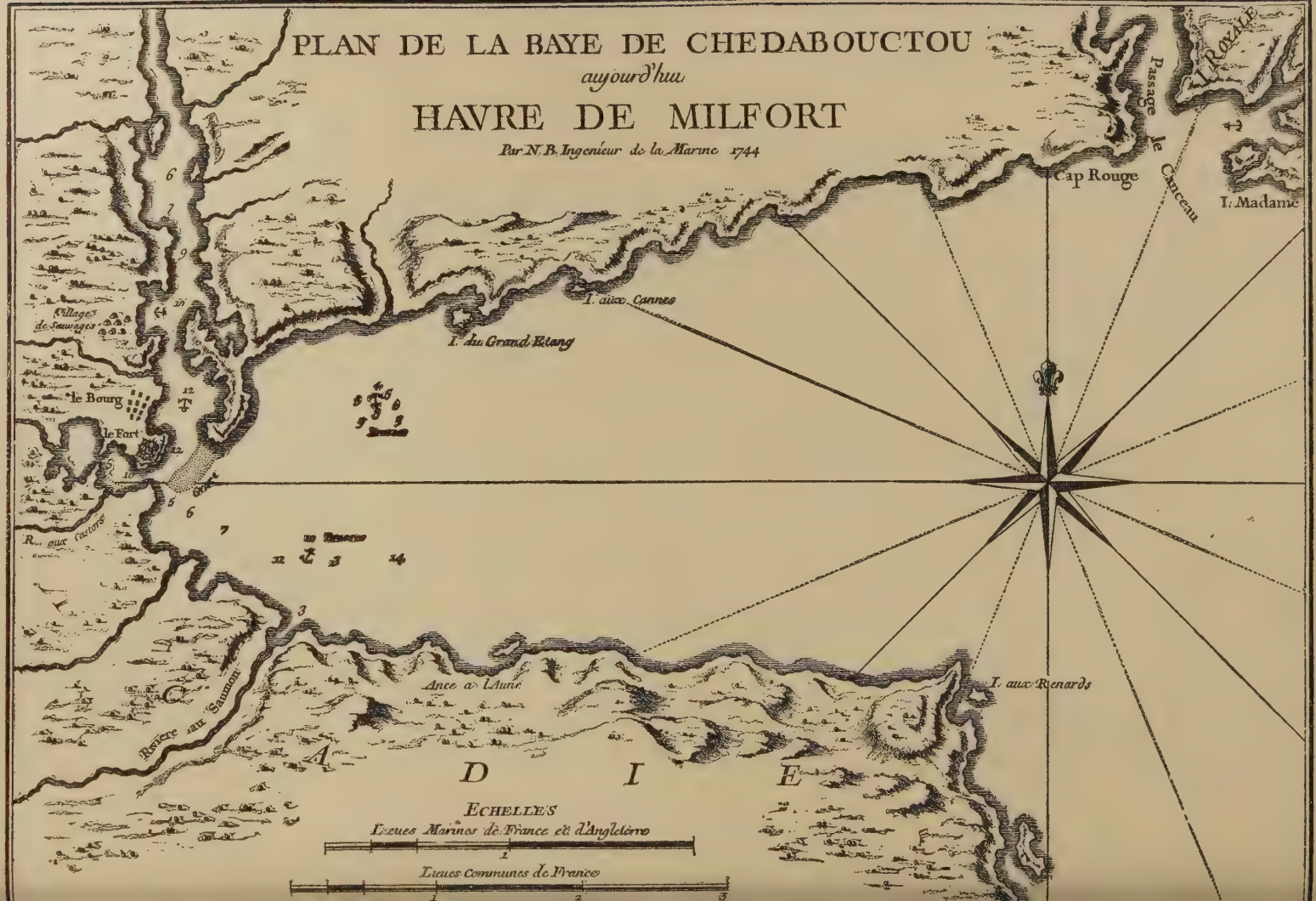
De Longueuil and Joncaire sent to the Iroquois.

It only remained to take measures of security in regard to the cantons, and the Baron de Longueuil, King's-Lieutenant at Montreal, having volunteered to treat with them, his offer was accepted: the Governor-General sent with him, Joncaire and la Chauvignerie,[1] and charged them to assure the cantons, that so long as they observed the neutrality, they had nothing to fear from the other nations; that in inviting several to meet him, it was solely that they might witness the way in which he would receive the English, in case they thought of paying Quebec another visit; but that if, in spite of their oaths, so frequently and solemnly renewed, that they would be mere spectators of the war, they should be so ill advised as to join the enemies of the French, they must expect at once to have all the tribes of the North and West dash down upon them and show no quarter.

Their success.

De Longueuil was very well received at Onondaga, as Joncaire was at Seneca, and they brought deputies of those two cantons to Montreal. These Indians admitted to de Vaudreuil that they were strongly urged by the Governor of New York to break with the French; they added that he might count on the fidelity of many; but that the majority inclined to the English side, won by the presents lavished on them, and convinced that the French

[1] Charlevoix found him in 1721 at Niagara, ensign and King's Iroquois interpreter. Journal, p. 223.


PLAN DE LA BAYE DE CHEDABOUCTOU
aujourd'hui
HAVRE DE MILFORT
Par N. B. Ingenieur de la Marine 1744
Cap Rouge
Passage le Canceau
I. Royale
I. Madame
I. aux Cannes
I. du Grand Etang
Villages de Sauvages
le Bourg
le Fort
R. aux Castors
Rivière au Saumon
Ance au Laurie
I. aux Renards
A D I E
ECHELLES
Lieues Marines de France et d'Angleterre
Lieues Communes de France

would at last sink under the great efforts their enemies were preparing to make on all sides to crush them.[1] 1710.

Great preparations were in fact making at Albany. They even detained in that city, three Frenchmen, sent by de Vaudreuil to take home an Englishman to whom he gave liberty on his parole, and Major Levingston's servant, left sick at Quebec. The pretext under which the detention of these three men was colored, was, that they did not wish what was going on in that province to be known in the French colony. For the same reason the English prisoner was retained: and this conduct greatly perplexed the Governor-General. Preparations of the English of New York.

He was even soon informed by an Indian, in detail, as to the preparations on foot in New York; and he ordered the Sieur de Beaucourt to hasten the operations in hand at Quebec.[2] He also dispatched orders in all directions to hold the regulars and militia ready to march at the first signal. The exchange of prisoners was no longer alluded to, Dudley and Nicholson refusing to listen to it, except on the conditions first proposed by the former.[3]

At this juncture, St. Pierre,[4] Tonty, and the others who had been sent to the Upper Nations, arrived at Montreal with four or five hundred Indians, and as the Iroquois deputies just mentioned had not yet started, the Governor-General seized the opportunity to settle a difference which had subsisted for several years between the cantons Arrival of the Upper Indians.

[1] Vaudreuil to Pontchartrain, April 25, 1711. N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 855. Costebelle to same, July 24, 1711, in Walker's Journal, p. 286.

[2] Vaudreuil to same, Oct. 25, 1711. N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., pp. 857–8.

[3] Michael Begon became Intendant in 1710, but his commission was not registered at Quebec till Oct. 12, 1712. Arrets et Ordonnances, iii., p. 63. Smith's History of Canada, i., p. 169.

[4] Le Gardeur de St. Pierre, called in Charlevoix's Index, de Tilly, was, however, of the Repentigny branch, son of John Baptist, a son of Peter le Gardeur, Sieur de Repentigny, founder of the family in Canada. Daniel, i., p. 163. St. Pierre was lieutenant in 1688. Ib., ii., p. 282: at Fort Frontenac in 1689. N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 436. Frequently in command in the west. Ib. pp. 537, 602. Ante, iv., p. 2.8. In a list of officers in 1732, he does not appear, although one of the name, probably a son, is given as an ensign. This latter is the St. Pierre of the Chickasaw war, the Ohio and Lake George.

1710. on one side, and some of our allies on the other. This he found more easy than he had anticipated, and concord was restored to the satisfaction of both parties.

On the 4th of August, 1711, de Vaudreuil received a letter from the Recollect Father Felix, a missionary in Acadia, informing him that forty Indians sent by the Baron de St. Castin to make an irruption near Port Royal, after defeating a much more numerous English party,[1] had joined some of the French, and invested the fort, where the chief officers and most of the garrison had died during the winter, and that they asked for prompt assistance.

On this information, the Marquis d'Alognies, commandant of the troops, was appointed to march promptly in that direction. The Governor-General gave him twelve of the bravest and most experienced officers, and two hundred picked men; all this was ready in two days; but at the moment when the reinforcement was about to take up its march, news received from Placentia, compelled de Vaudreuil to recall the Marquis d'Alognies.[2]

An English fleet prepare to besiege Quebec.

De Costebelle informed him that he had learned from an English prisoner that on the 10th or 12th of June, General Nicholson had arrived at Boston with two ships of seventy guns; that he was to be closely followed by six others of sixty, three bomb-ketches and thirty transports carrying from twenty-four to thirty guns, to which were to be added at Boston, two fifty gun ships and five[3] transports, to carry three thousand New England militia; that they merely awaited the fleet from London to set sail, and that this fleet had been seen by a privateer from Martini-

[1] De Costebelle to Pontchartrain, July, 24, 1711, in Sir H. Walker's Journal, p. 288. Vaudreuil to same. N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 858, says 40 Indians from Pentagoet, under L't Aymalle. Penhallow, p. 71, says 140. The party attacked was Capt. Pidgeon's: a whole boat's crew, the fort major and Capt. Forbes the engineer, were killed, and 34 taken. Haliburton, i., p. 91, says the scene of the disaster, still called Bloody Creek, is 12 miles from the fort, on the Halifax road. The missionary is Rev. Felix Cappe, O. S. F.

[2] Vaudreuil to Pontchartrain. N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 859. The Marquis d'Alognies de la Froye died at sea in 1714, captain of a man-of-war and Knight of St. Louis. Daniel, Nos Gloires, ii., pp. 287–8.

[3] Vaudreuil to Pontchartrain. N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 859. Costebelle (Walker, p. 291,) says 25.

que, which arrived at Placentia on the 8th of July,[1] and which, approaching it closely, had counted thirty-five sail. 1711.

The English prisoner also said that a body of two thousand men was assembling at Manhatte, (New York), composed of New York militia and Indians of that province, and that the Queen of England was bent on having Canada that year. These tidings were soon after confirmed by an Onondaga, dispatched to de Vaudreuil by Teganissorens, to inform him that the English fleet had left Boston; that there were two hundred batteaux ready at Orange, (Albany); that a hundred more were expected, and that Abraham Schuiler, brother of the Governor of Albany, had visited all the cantons to urge them to take up arms against the French.

De Vaudreuil's address to the Iroquois deputies.

The first thing the Governor-General did on receiving this intelligence, was to convene the Iroquois delegates brought from Onondaga and Seneca by the Baron de Longueuil and Joncaire, and lay before them the intelligence sent by Teganissorens. He told them, that as the Dutch had declared against him in spite of their oft-repeated promises to observe the neutrality, and his acts of consideration towards them, he could not avoid sending war-parties towards Albany, but that they need not take alarm.[2]

He then restored them some Iroquois taken from the hands of the Ouyatanons, (Weas,) and added, that it depended solely on them to remain calmly on their mats, as they had promised him; that they should remember the treaty of peace so authentically sworn to under his predecessor, among all the nations; that they could not but do the French the justice of having hitherto scrupulously observed all the conditions, and that it was still more for their interest than for his, to accept the course he proposed.

The next day he gave a great war-banquet, to which he invited all the domiciliated Indians, and all his allies who had come down to Montreal. Seven or eight hundred warriors assembled, and Joncaire and la Chauvignerie

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[1] De Costebelle says 13th.

[2] Vaudreuil to Pontchartrain. N. Y. Col.Doc., ix., p. 859.

1711. first raised the hatchet and sang the war-song in Onon-thio's name. All the Iroquois of Sault St. Louis, those of the Mountain, who had been united with those of Sault au Recollet and the Nipissings or Algonquins of Montreal Island, answered it with loud applause. The Upper Indians had some hesitation in deciding, almost all trading with the English, and finding it more advantageous than with us; but twenty Detroit Hurons taking up the hatchet, all followed their example, and assured the General that he could dispose of them as of his own subjects.

Our Indian allies chant the war-song.

Zeal of the domiciliated Indians.

De Vaudreuil did not, however, deem it expedient to retain them all, and did not even defer sending most of them home, as well as the Iroquois deputies, because the season was already advanced. He merely kept some of each nation, to show the English and the Iroquois cantons that he had complete sway over his allies. He then labored in concert with the missionaries of Sault St. Louis, Sault au Recollet and the domiciliated Algonquins, to defeat the secret intrigues once more set on foot with the Indians by the two brothers, Pitre and Abraham Schuiler, the one, Governor, the other major of Albany; and he succeeded so well, that both Indian towns gave him hostages to answer for their fidelity.[1]

He at last set out for Quebec, where his presence had become necessary, and was soon followed by the Abénakis of St. Francis and Bekancourt. Men felt quite assured of these Indians, and they knew it well; still they also sent their wives and children to Three Rivers, to show, they said, that they had no other interest than the French. They also undertook, with a good grace, all required of them, as did other Abénaquis brought by Father de la Chasse from the borders of New England.

This zeal of our allies produced a wonderful effect, and

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[1] Vaudreuil to Pontchartrain, Oct. 25, 1711. N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., pp. 857–861. Charlevoix is in error in making Peter and Abraham Schuyler brothers. Peter was the second son of Philip P. Schuyler; but had no brother Abraham. He was mayor of Albany, 1686–1694; major of militia in 1688; member and subsequently president of the Council.

Abraham was an alderman of Albany.

the elder Raudot,[1] on his return to France, told me that he had never understood better than on this occasion how important it was for a colony to have among the natives of the country, persons able to gain their esteem and good will, which could not be well done, unless they were attached by the bond of religion. This the Marquis de Vaudreuil had been already enabled to see by the example of the Detroit Hurons at the Montreal assembly. These were the only Christian Indians from the upper country, and it is indisputable that if they had not, by declaring as they did for war, drawn all the others from the indecision in which they were, that general would have received a slight at a moment, when all depended on his appearing to be the perfect master of all these tribes. 1711.

To this reflection I might here add some others on the causes which prevented the preachers of the gospel doing among many other nations what they have done among the Hurons, Algonquins, the Abénaquis tribes, the Illinois and a great number of Iroquois, Miamis and Pottawatamies; but this would lead me too far, and I hope that those who read this history, will make such reflections themselves.[2]

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[1] The younger Raudot had returned to France the year before, having been appointed Intendant des Classes de marine. See Juchereau, Hist. de l'Hotel Dieu, p. 462.

[2] In 1710–11 Canada was afflicted with a disease called the Maladie de Siam. It was generally fatal. Juchereau, Histoire de l'Hotel Dieu, p. 464. Twelve priests died, and of twenty-four nuns, taken while attending the sick, six died.

BOOK XX.

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1711. On reaching Quebec, de Vaudreuil found all the orders that he had given de Beaucourt, well carried out, and that capital in a condition to stand a long siege. Not satisfied with fortifying the main part of the place as far as permitted by the short time left him to work, and the means afforded him, that engineer had also adopted excellent measures to prevent the enemy from landing at Beauport, as they had done in 1690. In no city, probably, was more resolution and confidence ever shown, all, down to the very women, being ready to contribute their utmost for its vigrous defence.[1]

What became of the English fleet.

There was even a sort of impatience to see the English fleet appear. All the hills (côtes) below Quebec, were so well guarded, that the enemy could not have set foot in any settled place, without being forced to an engagement, which the disadvantage of the ground would have precluded his risking. Every one in the town and its environs had his post assigned. The General had placed his eldest son, the Count de Vaudreuil, (now captain of a man-of-war,)[2] in the most exposed post, and all, soldiers, Cana-

[1] Vaudreuil to Pontchartrain, Oct. 25, 1711. N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 860. Beaucourt began his labors in 1712, and in 1716 they were still incomplete. Ib. p. 871. See a description of them. Ib. p. 872.

[2] Louis Philippe, Count of Vaudreuil, 2nd son of the Governor-General, entered the naval service in 1698, captain of a man-of-war in 1738, commodore in 1748. He distinguished himself on the Intrepide in the action between de l'Estenduère and Hawkes. He died at Tours, Nov. 27, 1763, Lieutenant-General of the naval forces. His eldest son, Louis Philippe, Marquis of Vaudreuil, also Lieutenant-General, served in the French fleet during the American Revolution. Daniel Nos Gloires, i., pp. 81, 95; Operations of the French fleet under the Count de Grasse, p. 101 n.

1711. dians and Indians, had sworn not to abandon their post but with their lives; when, on the 25th at eight o'clock in the evening, a colonist came in to report, that on the 9th he had seen, from Matanes, ninety or ninety-six sails, bearing the English flag. On this, each one took his post.

A few days later, some Gaspé fishermen reported that they had counted eighty-four ships descending the river, and moving as if to put in at Gaspé.[1] At last, on the 7th of October, de Beaumont, commanding the Heros, anchored before Quebec, and stated that he had met no vessel on the north shore, which he had almost always followed; and another ship, which had put in at Gaspé, and followed the southern route, arrived a few days later, declaring that it had seen nothing.[2]

Retreat of the land army.

Such positive intelligence induced the Governor-General at once to send back de Ramezay to Montreal with six hundred men, whom that governor had brought him, of the militia of his district: he himself followed close with six hundred soldiers, who, reinforcing the troops that had been left under the command of the Baron of Longueuil, to defend the head of the colony, formed an army of three thousand men, which he placed in camp near Chambly.[3] Here he intended to await General Nicholson, on the march, as he knew, towards that point; but he soon learned that Nicholson's army, which contained many Iroquois, had fallen back, and Rouville was at once detached with two hundred men to obtain more definite intelligence.

That officer pushed on without meeting any one beyond the great Carrying Place on the route to Albany, and was there met by three Frenchmen whom de Vaudreuil had sent to that city in June, one of his brothers being of the number.[4] They had been set at liberty after Nicholson's return, and informed Rouville that the consternation at Albany had been excessive, when news came of the disaster to the English fleet, a disaster still unknown in the

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[1] Compare Juchereau, Histoire de l'Hotel Dieu de Quebec, p. 476. Beaumont was brother of Beauharnois, the Intendant.

[2] Ib. p. 480.

[3] Histoire de l'Hotel Dieu, p. 477 Faillon, Vie de M'lle le Ber.

[4] N. Y. MSS., Vol. 55. p. 31.

French colony. They added that Nicholson, on reaching that city, had put all his wagons under cover and locked up all the arms in the magazines, announcing his intention of employing them the next year, as well as his hope that the Queen would send greater forces than she had yet done: that the English and the Iroquois had had several disputes, and seemed to be irreconcilably involved. 1712.

Wreck of the English fleet.

There being now no doubt of the retreat of the two English expeditions that were to attack New France, simultaneously by sea and land, and divide its forces, by occupying them at the two extremities of the colony, and it being reported that the fleet had been wrecked in the St. Lawrence, near the Seven Islands, de Vaudreuil dispatched several barques in that direction. There they found the wrecks of eight large vessels, from which the cannon and best articles had been removed, and nearly three thousand persons drowned, and their bodies lying along the shore.[1]

They recognized among them, two whole companies of the Queen's Guards, distinguished by their red coats, and several Scotch families, intended as settlers in Canada;[2] but although the rest of the fleet had lain at anchor for several days at the same spot to remove the contents of the ships wrecked, the French, nevertheless, gathered quite a large booty.[3] A great many copies of a

[1] These returned in June, 1712, with five boat loads of spoils: they found more than 2000 bodies on the shore, among them seven women, all clasping each others' hands. Juchereau, Histoire de l'Hotel Dieu, pp. 490–1. The vessels lost were the Isabella Anne Katherine, Bayley, master, and Chatham, Alexander, master, carrying Colonel Windresse's regiment, of which 252 were lost, and only 47 or 8 saved; the Samuel and Anne, Walkup, master; Nathaniel and Elizabeth, Howson, master, and Colchester, Henning, master, carrying L't.-Gen. Seymour's regiment, of which 302 were lost, and 375 or 8 saved; the Smyrna merchant, Vernon, master, carrying Kaine's regiment, 200 lost, 30 saved; the Marlborough, Taylor, master, Clayton's regiment, 130 lost, 30 saved, and the Content, a New England ship, 15 men, all saved. Sir Hovenden Walker's Journal, or Full Account of the late Expedition, London, 1720, p. 128. He thus makes the loss of soldiers 884 to 499 saved.

[2] There were Catholic articles found, and commissions dating back to the reign of James II.

[3] It sold for 5,000 livres, and 12,000 livres were obtained for a second lot.

1711. manifesto were found, which the English Admiral had printed at Boston, in very bad French, in order to scatter among the settlers and excite the people. I have deemed this piece sufficiently curious to give it at length.[1]

Manifesto of the English Admiral.

"*By his Excellency*, JOHN HILL,[2] *General and Commander-in-Chief of her Britannic Majesty's troops in America.* The Queen of Great Britain having just and indisputable right and title to all North America by discovery made thereof and by possession, acknowledged by the Most Christian King, as appears by the grants of a part thereof to his Most Christian Majesty from the Crown of Great Britain, the detail of which would be tedious on this short manifesto. And as sound reason cannot convince us that such grants should have been given, that people should settle in those places as enemies, in order to harass the subjects of Great Britain; but rather with a view that those lands and territories should be held as fiefs, and as the nature of such tenures and articles of treaties of neutrality made between the Crown of Great Britain and the Most Christian King, to be observed by the English and French in America, although there might be war in Europe between the Crown of Great Britain and the Most Christian King: the French, nevertheless, have committed several hostilities against the subjects of the Kings of Great Britain; therefore those countries thus possessed by the French, do, according to the laws of nature and the

[1] This manifesto has been copied from the printed sheet, so that the faults of sense found in it, are those of the author or translator: *Charlevoix*. Sir Hovenden Walker, Journal, pp. 211–215, gives "A rough draught of the manifesto as drawn by me, which was translated into French." The French follows it pretty closely. Its utter absurdity was shown by Grange de Chessieux, La Conduite des Français Justifiée, pp. 199–200, and by Butel-Dumont in his edition of the Conduite des Français, p. 266, when Jefferys endeavored to use its statements as historical facts.

[2] Brigadier Hill was a brother of Mr. Masham, Queen Anne's favorite. His force was about 7000 men, five veteran regiments from Europe, his own 701 men, Windresse's 700, Clayton's 700, Kane's 700, L't. General Seymour's 702, Kirk's 700, Disney's 800, Churchill's marines and 300 recruits, with Vetch's Massachusetts and Walton's New Hampshire and R. I. regiments, Boston News Letter, July 16–23, 1711. Walker's Journal, 107–9, 190–1.

nation, of right revert to the Crown of Great Britain whence they originally came, and her Majesty of Great Britain may lawfully resume them, even though there were no war between her and the Most Christian King, joined to the constant complaints of the subjects of her Majesty of Great Britain of the horrible barbarities and unheard-of cruelties instigated and committed on them by the French, with the Indians; as is most evidently seen by the reward of forty livres, given by the French to the Indians for each English scalp. 1711

"All these things have justly moved her Majesty, and have induced her to succor her subjects, oppressed in so abominable a manner. The kings, her predecessors, for want of proper and suitable opportunity to reduce those lands and that country, which were lost for their possession, her Majesty having a very pious and just intention of establishing henceforward, perpetual peace in North America, by preventing and arresting the very unjust ravages and execrable murders against her subjects, has resolved, under the protection of Almighty God, to recover all the said lands and country, and appoint governors in the cities, towns, villages, castles and forts, where the most Christian King has pretended to settle any. And because the French settlers now in those parts, might, out of ignorance or obstinacy, be induced by malicious and turbulent people to resist her Majesty's good designs, she has thought fit, hoping that God will favor so pious an enterprise, to send such a strength as may, by the Divine assistance, be sufficient to reduce all who oppose reason and justice.

"Esteeming all the French who are settled in the said land and territory, under the pretended titles of the Most Christian King, to be as much subjects to the Crown of Great Britain, as if born or settled there or in Ireland, or in other parts of her Majesty's colonies, which are immediately under her protection; hence, having in view her interests and the good of her subjects, we have thought fit to declare, in a most solemn manner, that all the French

1711 living in, and about Canada, in the cities, towns and villages, who shall willingly put themselves under the protection of her Majesty of Great Britain, and submit to her laws and government, and be found residing on their habitations and places, without any diminution of their flocks and houses, shall be kindly received and treated and maintained, they and their heirs, in quiet and peaceable possession of their lands, houses and other effects lawfully to them belonging, shall enjoy liberty, privileges and exemptions, in common with the rest of her Majesty's natural subjects, together with the free exercise of their religion. And, whereas some may prefer to return to France rather than live under the government of her Majesty of Great Britain, extremely mild and happy though it be, we do also declare, provided they do not take up arms, nor directly incite any one to resist her Majesty's forces, and before any act of hostility on either side, by voluntarily surrendering, they shall have liberty to embark in ships to be furnished to them, equipped with all things necessary to go to France, and take with them the goods of which they shall be just possessors, or to sell them, as well as their land and other immovables.

"As to the bishop, ecclesiastics, religious and missionaries, if they do all in their power to induce the French to obey the orders of her Majesty of Great Britain, we promise that all regard shall be shown them, according to their dignity, functions and character, far from being treated as enemies, and, if they choose, ships shall be furnished them, equipped with all necessaries, to transport to France for them the effects which shall appear to belong to them. but if, on the contrary, they shall dissuade the people from accepting the terms herein offered, they shall be held as guilty of all the unpleasant measures which shall be taken to reduce them by force.

"We further declare, that all who shall take up arms, under pretext of defending said places, cities, towns, villages, castles or forts, shall be treated as enemies and usurpers, and all their lands, houses and other goods, shall be seized

and acquired to her Majesty's profit, to be distributed to those who shall give assistance, in order that these countries be under the sway of her Majesty of Great Britain, and any such, who shall distinguish and signalize themselves on this occasion for her Majesty's service, shall receive special marks of her good will, in proportion to the services they shall have rendered. 1711.

"However, we here declare, that, after they have committed acts of hostility, we think ourselves discharged from the execution of these promises, and that none, except those who shall have surrendered or distinguished themselves before any act of hostility, shall be allowed to set up any claim to the favors hereinbefore offered; and we shall then have no other aim, with God's blessing, than to crush by force of arms, those who resist, hoping that God, who is Almighty, will give generous success to the arms of her Majesty, in so reasonable, just and religious a design.

Boston, B. Graen, 1711."

Even if they had not known in Canada in what manner the English used the right of conquest in the New World, their bad faith in observing treaties, their harsh treatment of prisoners, the recent example of Acadia and the false pretext set up by the author of the manifesto to authorize him in refusing to spare any one, under pretence that they had not submitted till after the first hostilities, were but too well calculated to rouse every good Frenchman to continue the defence to the last extremity, to say nothing of the chimerical and unsupportable pretensions of Hill as to the right of the English Crown to all North America.

But as there is no state without malcontents or illminded men, the indignation against this document would not have been so general, had it appeared amid the French settlements at the same time with the French fleet. Those whom the threats would have intimidated the most, if they had had to dread their fulfillment, are the boldest in despising them when they are no longer to be feared.

The English admiral could scarcely impute to any one

1711. but himself, the ruin of his fleet. He had on board a French prisoner named Paradis,[1] an old navigator, perfectly familiar with the St. Lawrence. This man warned him when they were off the Seven Isles, not to run too close to the shore; and, as the wind was not favorable, and they could only tack about, he tacked frequently. The admiral at last getting tired of this manœuvring, and perhaps suspecting the pilot of doing it only to tire out his crew, refused to come to stays, and ran so close to a little island called Isle aux Œufs, that, being surprised by a sudden wind from the southeast, he was wrecked there with seven others of his largest ships, from which he saved very few souls.[2]

What caused the loss of the fleet.

God's providence over Canada.

To deliver New France from all disquiet, there was needed only positive information as to the real disposition of the Iroquois, more to be dreaded alone, in spite of their petty numbers, than the English without them. The French had already learned that they had joined Nicholson, to the number of more than six hundred; but it was also known that they had all left him, even before he could have been informed of the wreck of part of the English fleet. The same thing occurred, as we have already seen, on almost every occasion that the two nations united against us, and independent of the reasons of policy referred to by us, it is certain that they are not constituted to act long in concert together; that haughty pride on one side, and ferocious pride on the other, will always render them incompatible, and that their mutual antipathy has hitherto been the greatest resource of New

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[1] Paradis was an old navigator, taken on the Neptune from Rochelle, by the Chester, Capt. Matthews, July 25, O. S., near the mouth of the St. Lawrence. Juchereau, Hist. de l'Hotel Dieu, p. 481. Walker's Journal, p. 110. For his statement to Walker, see Journal, p. 119.

[2] As to the loss of the fleet see Sir Hovenden Walker's Journal, pp. 124–8; Penhallow's Wars of New England, p. 65; Letter of Sampson Sheaf, Annapolis, Oct. 6, 1711, in Hutchinson, Hist. Mass., ii., p. 180; Letter of Gen. J. Hill, Aug. 25, 1711, to Governor Hunter. N. Y. Col. Doc., iv., p. 277; the Feversham and three transports, the Joseph, Mary, and Neptune, were lost on Cape Breton, Oct. 7. N. Y. Col. Doc., v., p. 284. Walker's Journal, p. 25.

France, which will always have these two nations as enemies, the one, for fear of being crushed, the other, because they cannot live in peace with us on the same continent. After all, in the manner in which the two great armaments were scattered that were to attack it simultaneously, each with a force superior to any it could bring, the French colony could not but recognize a Providence which watched singularly over its preservation, and which, not satisfied with rescuing it from the greatest danger it had yet run, had enriched it with the spoils of an enemy whom it had not had the pains to conquer; hence they rendered Him most heartfelt thanks. 1711

Wreck of the English fleet.

Soon after, they had reason to renew them in regard to the port of Placentia, which that divine Providence preserved by the same way it had employed to save the government of Montreal, that is, by striking its enemies with vertigo. The English fleet, on its way to Quebec, had intercepted letters from de Costebelle, making known his wretched position in Newfoundland, and the necessity of promptly relieving him.[1] After the shipwreck, the commanders of the remaining vessels debated whether or not to go to Placentia and make up for the loss they had just sustained, and they certainly had force enough left to take that place and all the posts dependent on it, but misundering arising between the military and naval officers, they were compelled to renounce the project.[2]

Fruitless efforts to recover Acadia.

The only advantage derived by England from the excessive outlay just made, was the preservation of Acadia. The Court of France was exceedingly anxious to recover that province; the repeated efforts of the English to get it into their power, and still more, their exultation on its

[1] These letters are given in Sir H. Walker's Journal, pp. 280–299.

[2] Ib. pp. 140–1: Resolution of Council of War, pp. 300–2. Admiral Walker on his way back took possession of Cape Breton in September. Journal, p. 151; after reaching England, his flagship, the Edgar, blew up. In 1715 he was struck off the list of flag officers and deprived of half pay, after having held a commission for 28 years. He then settled in Carolina, but being ill-treated by the government there, removed to Barbadoes. He died in 1725. Beatson, Political Index, II. 34.

1711 conquest, had at last opened the eyes of the French to the greatness of the loss they had sustained, and in this spirit de Pontchartrain wrote to Mr. de Beauharnois, who had succeeded Begon as Intendant of Rochelle and Rochefort.

"I have sufficiently explained to you," says he, "how important it is to recover that post (Port Royal) before the enemy become solidly planted there. The preservation of all North America, and the fisheries, alike require it; these are two objects which touch me to the quick, and I cannot too strongly urge them (the Governor-General and Intendant of New France) to regard them with the same eyes."

It was the minister's greatest wish that the Marquis de Vaudreuil should undertake the task with only his own troops and the Canadian militia. On his side, the General, to ensure success, asked only two ships from France, with what men and munitions they could carry; but moderate as this reinforcement was, it was impossible to send it. Still he did not wish to be reproached with not having made an effort when desired, and we have seen the Marquis d'Alognies was on the point of marching with troops to support the Indians and colonists, who were blockading Port Royal when the news of the approach of the English fleet disconcerted his plan.[1]

Then the Acadian settlers, seeing no further hope of shaking off the English yoke, were compelled to make terms with the Governor of Port Royal; but they sent to assure the Marquis de Vaudreuil, that necessity alone, and especially the fear of being disturbed in their harvesting, had driven them to this step; that nevertheless, the King would have no subjects more faithful than themselves. De Pontchartrain, informed of their good disposition, turned to another quarter, and ordered Mr. de Beauharnois to induce the Rochelle merchants to form a company strong enough to expel the English from Acadia, and plant there

[1] Vaudreuil to Pontchartrain, Oct. 25, 1711. N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., 859.

two good settlements, one at la Héve, the other at Chedabouctou. 1711.

At the same time and with the same view he sounded the richest traders of St. Malo, Nantes and Bayonne; but the important inducements offered in his Majesty's name, and assured in every way they could desire, failed to find a man willing to lead the enterprise, and all refused to make the advances required for an expedition in which the State alone was to be the gainer.

Exploit of an Indian party.

Nevertheless, while they were discussing in Old and New France the means of recovering Acadia, the project had well nigh been carried out without the slightest intervention of Mr. de Pontchartrain or the Marquis de Vaudreuil. Sixty Englishmen of the garrison of Port Royal, commanded by the major of the fort, an engineer and six other officers, had embarked in canoes to go and burn the houses of the French who had not yet made terms, or who perhaps deferred too long complying with the conditions, as well as to secure their persons. Forty Indians, getting wind of it, undertook to surprise them. Divided into two parties, they marched under cover of the woods, on both sides of the river in which the English were ascending, and proceeded to await them at the passage, in a spot well fitted for an ambuscade. The enemy, utterly unsuspicious, were caught without their having taken any precaution, and the Indians fired so seasonably that not a single man escaped to convey this intelligence to Port Royal.[1]

Port Royal again missed.

Encouraged by this success, the settlers flew to arms, assembled to the number of five hundred, and set out in June to invest the fort; many Indians joined them, and Mr Gaulin, their missionary, informed de Costebelle, Governor

[1] Letter of F. Felix Cappe. Aug. 4, 1711, cited N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 858. Costebelle to Pontchartrain, July 24, 1711. (Walker, p. 293.) L'Hermite to same, July 22, 1711. (Ib. p. 297.) The Indians were sent by St. Castin, and commanded by L'Aymalle. Vetch, commandant of the English fort, sent his men out, June 21. One man escaped. Ib. The party was commanded by Capt. Pigeon, a regular officer. Hutchinson, Hist. Mass., ii., p. 181. See Ante, p. 238.

1711. of Placentia, that if he would send Mr. l'Hermite to take command, he would guarantee success; but de Costebelle needed all his officers, and for want of leaders, the settlers and Indians retired. It was soon after ascertained that the garrison of Port Royal, which had been five hundred men, was then reduced to one hundred and fifty, some having been carried off by a contagious disease, and many more having deserted.[1]

Generosity of the people of Quebec.

The next year the rumor again spread that the English were preparing to take the sea with a new fleet, to besiege Quebec, and the Governor-General obtained from the coffers of the merchants of that city, a sum of fifty thousand crowns to add new fortifications. At the same time, he received several intimations that the English were reconciled to the Iroquois, and hoped to induce that restless nation to give us trouble in the north and west of Canada, in order to open a path for them to establish their power on the ruins of ours. This intelligence, though it did not prove true, was not utterly unfounded.

De Vaudreuil treats with the Iroquois.

It is even very probable that if Joncaire had not secured the Senecas, and the Baron de Longueuil[2] negotiated with his usual tact with the Onondagas, we might have soon found ourselves in difficulties almost inextricable. Deputies came at last from the cantons to make new excuses for the past, and loud protestations of inviolable fidelity in keeping their promises in future. Faith in their sincerity had to be displayed. Nevertheless, de Vaudreuil at first spoke to them firmly, he then made them considerable presents and dismissed them, perhaps better disposed to us than when they had come.

But they had shortly before raised up against us a new

[1] Gaulin, Lettre, Sept. 5, 1711. Canada Doc., III. ii., pp. 893–6. Vaudreuil to Pontchartrain, Oct. 25, 1711. N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 859. Costebelle to same, July 24, 1711, (in Sir H. Walker's Journal, pp. 293, 288.) L'Hermite to same, Ib. p. 298, Hutchinson, Hist. Mass., ii., p. 181.

[2] Charles le Moyne de Longueuil, (1st Baron), son of Charles le Moyne, born at Montreal Dec. 10, 1656, wounded at Quebec in 1690, created Baron, Governor of Three Rivers and of Montreal. Administered the colony from Vaudreuil's death, Oct. 10, 1725, to Sept. 2, 1726. Daniel, i., p. 59–61.

enemy as brave as themselves, less politic, much fiercer, whom we have never been able to subdue or tame, and who, like those insects that seem to have as many lives as parts of their body, spring to life again, so to say, after their defeat, and, reduced almost to a handful of brigands, appear everywhere, have aroused the hatred of all the nations on this continent, and for the last twenty-five years and more, interrupt commerce, and render the roads almost impracticable for more than five hundred leagues around. These are the Outagamis, commonly called the Foxes. 1712. Character of the Foxes.

Till the time now treated of, they had figured little in Canadian affairs; but they had recently confederated with the Iroquois, and had apparently, through them, just formed an alliance with the English. They had promised the latter to burn the fort of Detroit, to massacre all the French, and introduce English troops into the fort. To carry out this design, they had come in great numbers to lodge at Detroit, quite near the fort, and there is no kind of insult that they did not offer to the Sieur du Buisson, the commandant, a good officer and worthy man.[1] They undertake to burn Detroit.

The Kikapoos and Mascoutins had entered their plot; the latter had already repaired in considerable numbers to the neighborhood of Detroit, and awaited only the arrival of the Kikapoos, to execute their treason, when they ascertained that Saguima, an Ottawa chief, and some Pottawatamies, had killed about one hundred and fifty Mascoutins of both sexes. At this news, they were roused to fury, and Joseph, a Christian Outagami, strongly attached to the French, warned du Buisson that he was going to be attacked at once in his fort.[2]

The commandant had only twenty Frenchmen[3] with him, and his whole resource lay in the Hurons, Ottawas and some other Indians, with whom he lived on good terms,

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[1] He was sent to take the place of Sieur de la Forest. Pontchartrain to Vaudreuil, July 7, 1711. N. Y. Col. Doc., ix. p. 857. See a memoir on Detroit, by de la Forest, (Oct. 1. 1714.) (Ib. p. 866).

[2] Du Buisson's Report, June 15, 1712. Smith's Wisconsin, iii., p. 316–7.

[3] Thirty. Ib. p. 316.

1712. but who were at the time off hunting. He summoned them to join him without delay; he then demolished all the houses[1] out of the walls of his fort, and adopted all other measures that time permitted, to meet the enemy's first onslaught. On the 13th of May, he learned that his allies were approaching, and he soon after descried them marching in fine order.

Du Buisson's preparations.

Seasonably reinforced by our allies.

Among them were Ottawas commanded by Saguima, Hurons, Pottawatamies, Sacs, Menomonees, Illinois, Osages, Missourites, and each nation had its own flag. This little army halted at the village of the Hurons, who advised them not to encamp, but to push on straight to the French fort. "There is no time to lose," said they; "our Father is in danger; he loves us, he has never done us aught but good, we must defend him or perish at his feet. Saguima, do you see that smoke? They are three women of your village whom they are burning, and your wife one of them." These three women were indeed prisoners taken by the Foxes, but no more was known, and the Hurons spoke thus apparently only to rouse Saguima to vengeance. As soon as they had ceased speaking, a general cry arose that echoed through all the surrounding fields. The enemy gave an answering yell, and forty of them detached to watch our allies. These adventurers, by a species of bravado not uncommon among these savages, had stripped themselves quite naked, but had painted the whole body in such a manner as to render them hideous. They were fired upon and driven off.

When the allies approached the fort, the chiefs sent to ask the Commandant for permission to enter, and the gates were at once thrown open. Du Buisson gave them a welcome proportioned to the service they were rendering, and after all had taken their places around him, according to custom, the speaker, in the name of all, said to him:[2]

"Father, behold your children around you. For what you did last year to rescue them from the fire of the Foxes, they are bound to expose their lives for your ser-

[1] The church also. Ib. p. 317. [2] Ib. p. 318–320.

vice. We fear not death, we will even die cheerfully, if need be, for our Father and liberator; the only favor we ask, is, that you induce Ononthio, the Father of all the nations, to take care of our wives and children, and that you cover our bodies with a little grass, to keep off the flies. You see that we have left our villages and our families, to rush to your assistance; we have done it so promptly, that we had not time even to get munitions and provisions, so that we trust you will not let us suffer for want of either." 1712. Their address to du Buisson.

The Commandant thanked them briefly, and distributed among them provisions, lead, powder and tobacco. Then the old men went through the ranks, exhorting the young braves to do their duty well, and especially to obey their Father punctually. The Foxes quite calmly awaited the Confederates in their fort, which was only about musket-shot from the French fort. Here they were pretty well entrenched. However, they were scarcely invested on all sides, before the constant fire kept up on them, forced them to put themselves four or five feet in the ground. The Foxes are besieged in their fort.

Then the besiegers raised two rough scaffolds, twenty-five feet high, from which they galled the besieged so successfully, that as the latter no longer dared to venture out for water, and their provisions were soon consumed, they suffered greatly from hunger and thirst. In this extremity, borrowing strength from despair, they fought with a valor which long made victory doubtful; they even raised on their palisades a number of red blankets as flags, crying, at the top of their voices, that they had no Father but the English, who would infallibly come to their relief or avenge their death, and inviting such of our allies as wished to assure their lives, to adopt the same course. Their vigorous defence.

The Pottawatomi chief replied, that if the ground must be stained with blood, as they seemed to mean by these signals, it should be with their own; that they had been very ill-advised to join the English, who durst not take the field against the French, who could make war only like foxes, who had destroyed all the tribes by poisoning them

1712. with their brandy, and who were enemies of the true God. These dialogues did not, however, please the Sieur du Buisson, as they checked the combat, and gave the enemy a breathing space.[1]

They ask peace.

The besieged had already profited by it to gain a house that had not been completely demolished, and which joined their fort. There they raised a redoubt from which they fired under cover of the gable. But the Commandant demolished it with his artillery; then the enemy raised fearful yells, and some moments after they asked permission to send deputies to du Buisson.[2] Before granting the favor, that Commandant wished to have the consent of the chiefs, whom he convoked in council. All agreed that they must seize the opportunity to rescue from the hands of the besieged, the three women already mentioned. They were accordingly informed that he was ready to hear them. Very early the next morning, the red blankets disappeared and gave place to a white flag. Then Pemoussa, the great chief of the Foxes, presented himself at the gates of the camp, attended by two warriors; they were admitted, the Council assembled, and as soon as they were introduced, Pemoussa placed before the Commandant two prisoners and a belt, begging him to allow him two days, that the old men might discuss the means of appeasing him and making satisfaction. Then he turned towards the Indians, presented them also two slaves and a belt, and spoke thus:

"Remember that we are your brothers, and that in shedding our blood, it is your own you shed. I beg you, therefore, to calm the mind of our Father, whom we have unfortunately angered. These two slaves are to replace a little blood that we have perhaps shed." As the Indians did not answer, du Buisson spoke and informed the deputies, that he could not feel assured of the sincerity of their repentance, till they brought back Saguima's wife and the two others taken with her; that

[1] Ib. pp. 320–3.

[2] This day the French had 12 killed in the fort and claim to have killed 30.

he would not listen to them till these three captives were restored to him. 1712.

Pemoussa in excuse alleged that did not depend entirely on him, and that he must go and impart his intentions to the sachems. He was allowed the rest of the day, and assured that the French would not fire till his return, provided, however, that no one left the fort. Two hours after, two Mascoutin chiefs and a Fox arrived, bearing a white flag, followed by the three women, whom they presented to the Commandant. They manifested great regret for having offended him, and begged him to give them all liberty to retire. Du Buisson replied, that they must not apply to him for this, as he had pledged his word to his allies, to leave them absolute masters, to do as they saw fit.

Speech of an Illinois chief to the deputies.

This reply was greatly applauded by the Indians, and the Great Chief of the Illinois[2] in the name of all said to the deputies: "Your past conduct, and the agreement you have made with the English, leave no room to doubt some evil intention on your part, in asking your Father leave to retire; no sooner would you leave the camp, than you would hasten to form new plots against him, and come to attack him at a time when we, perhaps, might be too far to come to his assistance. You have supposed us in ignorance of your arrangement with the English; your promise to establish them here, after having exterminated all the children of Ononthio; but you were mistaken. Know then, that our final resolve is to receive your surrender only at our discretion, and not to leave the spot till we force you to it; even our Father could not make us change, and in this alone would we disobey him. Better than he does, we know your evil heart, and do not intend to abandon him to your mercies. Return at once to your fort; we merely await that to renew the action."

The deputies retired with this unexpected answer, and as soon as they had re-entered, the attack was resumed with fresh vigor. The defence was no less stubborn; the

[1] Ib. pp. 323–6.

[2] Makoumandeby.

1712. besieged discharged at once as many as three hundred arrows, tipped with lighted tinder, and in some cases with slow-matches, to set fire to the French fort; they did, really, burn several houses which were merely thatched, and to prevent the conflagration from spreading, all the rest had to be covered with bear and deer-skins, and a large supply of water collected.[1]

The siege continues.

The besiegers discouraged.

This stubborn resistance at last wearied the confederates, they despaired of succeeding in their attempt, and pretended to fear that the French would stop supplying them with provisions. The French, seeing them on the point of retiring, as they would then be exposed to the rage of an irritated nation, already talked of embarking for Michilimackinac, and du Buisson was on the point of being obliged to flee before enemies whom he had reduced to the last extremity, and whom he had seen two days before at his knees, begging him to be satisfied with treating them as his slaves.

The commandant rallies them.

To regain the Indian chiefs, he had to strip himself of all he had, and when he supposed that he had won each one to his side by his largesses, he called the council. He there began to complain that they wished to abandon him in the very height of the peril, after leading him into it: he then expressed his astonishment that so many brave men renounced a certain victory that would cover them with glory. Some chiefs seemed surprised at his words, and interrupted him to protest that they held to their resolution to shed the last drop of their blood, sooner than leave the work incomplete; that they could not understand what could have aroused the unfounded suspicions he seemed to entertain.[2]

All the others made the same protestation; they again sang the war-song, and each resuming his post, the besieged saw that they could look for safety only on the harsh conditions imposed upon them. There were, as stated, Sacs among the Confederates. There were also

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[1] Two periaguas were filled with water. Ib. p. 327.

[2] Ib. pp. 326–330

among the enemy, because that nation, as elsewnere remarked, is divided, as it were, into two factions, one attached to the Foxes, and the other to the Pottawatamies. The Sacs, shut up with the Foxes, almost all deserted, and from them it was ascertained that the besieged were at the last extremity: that they suffered more from hunger and thirst, than from the fire of the besiegers; that they had already lost eighty men,[1] and that their fort was full of dead bodies, which caused a horrible infection. 1712.

Another deputation of the besieged.

All this was strictly true, and soon after the enemy asked to parley. It was supposed that they would now surrender at discretion, and they were permitted to send deputies. Two Outagami chiefs, Pemoussa and another,[2] at once came with several prisoners, and in a garb that seemed to them calculated to touch the confederates. They said that for themselves, they durst not flatter themselves that their lives would be spared, but they earnestly begged quarter for their old men, women and children. "Remember," they added, "that you are our grand-nephews; it is your own blood you seem so eagerly to thirst for; would it not be more honorable to spare it, and more profitable to hold us as slaves."

The Commandant prevents them from massacring the deputies.

Pity does not easily enter an Indian heart, and the long resistance of the enemy, had irritated the besiegers. They persisted in demanding that the Foxes and their allies should surrender at discretion. Some even proposed to du Buisson to massacre the deputies; but he angrily replied, that they must be drunk, to make him such a proposal; that these two men had come on his word; given only by their own consent, and that he would never permit the least outrage to be done them in his fort.

They replied, that these two envoys were the authors of all the trouble, and that, having so often used perfidy themselves, they did not deserve that others should be so

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[1] Sixty to eighty women and children by hunger and thirst. Ib. p. 329.

[2] Allamima. Ib. p. 330. Also two Mascoutin chiefs, Kuit and Ouabimanitou.

1712. scrupulous towards them; but they spoke in vain. The Commandant replied, that it became neither him nor them to imitate their example, and he sent back the two deputies, telling them that he had no other reply to make them but that already made. The wretched Foxes had now no hope except of being able to escape under cover of bad weather; and in fact, after nineteen days siege, a heavy rain-storm having scattered the besiegers, they seized the opportunity and escaped by night.[1]

The besieged escape and are pursued.

This was discovered at daybreak, and a pursuit begun.[2] They were found quite well intrenched four leagues off, on a peninsula[3] running out into little Lake St. Clair, and as their entrenchments were scarcely visible, the assailants, approaching with too little precaution, had at first more than twenty men killed or wounded. They had to begin a new siege, which lasted four days, and would have been even longer, if the French Commandant had not brought up two field-pieces.

They are almost all massacred.

The besieged at last surrendered at discretion, and almost all with arms in their hands were pitilessly slaughtered on the spot. The rest,[4] to the number of one hundred and fifty, without counting women and children, were reduced to slavery and divided among the confederate nations, who did not keep them long, but massacred nearly all before they parted. The loss of the allies amounted to sixty men killed or wounded;[5] the Hurons, among whom there were twenty-five Christian Iroquois, distinguished themselves beyond all the rest, and also lost more men; but this expedition cost the enemy more than two thousand souls.[6]

Du Buisson acquired here great honor by his firmness and disinterested course, which led him to strip himself of

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[1] Ib. pp. 330–1.

[2] De Vincennes joined in the pursuit with some of the French.

[3] Presqu'Isle, near Lake St. Clair, opposite Hog Island. L. C. Draper, Wisconsin Hist. Coll., v., p. 78.

[4] One hundred were bound, but escaped. Ib. p. 332.

[5] This is the Indian loss; the French had one killed, five or six wounded. Ib. p. 333.

[6] Du Buisson says 1000.

everything in favor of his allies. The result of his victory was, that the English despaired of establishing themselves at Detroit, a step that would been utter ruin to New France, not only on account of the position of the place, which is the centre of Canada and the finest part, but also because it would have rendered impossible the least communication with the Upper Indians or Louisiana. 1712. Fruit of this victory.

There were still many differences to settle between our allies, and the Governor-General judged it necessary for success, to begin by restoring Fort Michilimackinac. The next year he sent there Mr. de Louvigny, and towards the end of this year, he dispatched several officers of experience and merit to visit the nations of the North and West, and persuade them to lay aside all subjects of complaint that they had given one another. All this was effected with equal success and skill, and tranquillity was perfectly restored in Canada.

Yet it was impossible to induce these tribes to stop carrying their furs to the English, as they had openly done for some years. Even the domiciliated Indians soon followed the torrent, and to remedy this great evil, it would have been necessary to raise the price of beaver in France and diminish that of goods in Canada. The former of these two expedients did not depend on the traders; but had they well understood their interests, they would have adopted the second by sending every year to Quebec on their account goods to the amount of 40 or 50,000 francs. This increase would have brought down the price, and enabled the traders in the colony, to supply the Indians at lower rates; but there was no persuading them of this. Accordingly, the fur trade is now almost exclusively in the hands of the English. Reason of the decline of trade in Canada.

Meanwhile, although the negotiations for peace had not yet closed at Utrecht, the Governors-General of New France and New England received express orders from their sovereigns to stop absolutely all hostilities between the two nations and their allies; but they soon after received intelligence that the Queen of Great Britain had

1712. withdrawn from the league formed to dethrone the Catholic king, Philip V.[1] Nothing could have come more seasonable for the government of Boston, which the Abnakis were ravaging in all directions, and this reason was certainly not the least influential in bringing the Court of London to the resolution, never to yield the point as to the cession of Acadia. They showed the same firmness as to our possessions in Newfoundland and Hudson Bay, and Louis XIV., who had also reasons of his own for raising no obstacles to the treaty, which he wished to conclude with her Britannic Majesty, at last sacrificed those three provinces, and the rights which he claimed over the five Iroquois cantons.

Territory ceded to the English by the treaty of Utrecht.

The Iroquois maintain their independence.

This last article did not deprive us of anything real, or give anything more to the English, as the Cantons renewed the protestations that they had already more than once made against the reciprocal pretensions of their neighbors, and they have succeeded quite well in maintaining possession of their liberty and independence. The English, who, with this exception, possess, in their regard, a part of the advantages to be derived from the sovereignty of a nation resolved to suffer no master, have not deemed it expedient to attempt to reduce them. They contented themselves with erecting, in course of time, a fort on Lake Ontario, at the mouth of the River Chouguen, (Oswego.) But as the Onondagas saw this establishment erected on their land without opposing it, we obtained of the Senecas permission to erect a similar one at the entrance of Niagara River, nearly on the site of the Marquis de Denonville's fort, in 1686. This permission they had refused the English, saying that they were their own masters to receive whom they pleased among them, and that they did not wish to have two nations there at once, to disturb the peace by their mutual animosity.

It was not the same in regard to the Abénaqui nations. The English, who were even more strongly bent on having

[1] Rale to Moody, Nov. 18, 1712, asking first positive intelligence in order to transmit to Canada and stop hostilities. Mass. Hist. Coll., 8. p. 255.

these Indians as subjects than the Iroquois, imagined that they would meet no difficulty in the matter after the treaty of Utrecht, inasmuch as they thought that they had taken suitable measures to acquire the sovereignty of their country. Article XII of that treaty, declares that the most Christian King cedes to the Queen of England in perpetuity "Acadia or Nova Scotia, entire, according to its ancient limits, as also the city of Port Royal, now called Annapolis Royal, and generally all that depends on the said lands and islands of that country.[1]

1712.

English claims against the Abenaquis.

Her Britannic Majesty's commanders in New England and Acadia, on receiving the treaty, deemed nothing more urgent than the imparting of its contents to the Abénaquis; but they believed it necessary to observe considerable caution with tribes who were, they knew, no great lovers of their nation, and whose valor they had too frequently experienced, to feel at all tempted to reduce them by force. They did not even deem it expedient to begin by declaring that they considered them as subjects of the English Crown, convinced that in their actual state of feeling, such a proposition would only alienate them the more.[2]

An English minister undertakes to seduce these tribes.

The Governor-General of New England accordingly judged that before all else, they must be won over from their missionaries and gradually accustomed to live with the English. With this view, he sent to the mouth of the Kennebec, the ablest of the Boston ministers, to open a

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[1] Treaty of Utrecht, Memoires des Commissaires, ii., pp. 126–7.

[2] On hearing of the peace, the Indians came in to announce it, and July 11, 1713, eight delegates signed a treaty at Portsmouth, N. H., which no intelligent man will believe they understood. See it in Penhallow, Indian Wars, 78 &c.; and more correctly, Maine Hist. Coll., vi., pp. 250–256. Further articles were obtained July 28, 1714. Ib. p. 257: and still further, at Arrowsick Island, Aug. 12, 1717. Ib. pp. 260–262. Hutchinson, ii., p. 199. For French account, see Rale, Lettres Edifiantes—Kip's Jesuit Missions, p. 56. How they found an interpreter able to translate the law-terms of these written treaties into Abénaqui, is a mystery. The translation must have been oral—if literal, incomprehensible, if not, certainly not morally binding on them. Hutchinson, ii., p. 246, admits that they were in words of which the Indians had no adequate idea.

1717. school; and, as he knew these tribes to be extremely susceptible to any kindness shown their children, he ordered this teacher to support his little pupils at the government expense, and with this view, assigned him an allowance which was to increase in proportion to the number he might induce to frequent his school.[1]

What occurred between this minister and F. Rasle.

The minister neglected nothing to carry out the Governor's views: he went to the village for the children, caressed them, made them presents; in a word, for two months he used great exertions, yet without succeeding in gaining a single one. Undiscouraged at this, he applied to the parents of these children, and addressed them several questions touching their belief, and on their replies, he turned into ridicule the Sacraments, Purgatory, the Invocation of the Saints, and all the practices of piety in use among Catholics.[2]

Father Sebastian Rasle, who had for many years back directed this rising church, believed it his duty to oppose these first seeds of seduction. He wrote a very polite letter to the minister, and among other things, told him that his neophytes knew how to believe the truths which the Catholic Church teaches; but that they did not know how to dispute about them; that by proposing to them difficulties which he may well have supposed they were not in a position to answer, it was apparently his design that they should impart them to their missionary: that he seized with pleasure this opportunity to confer with an able man; leaving it to his option to do so orally or in writing, and that meanwhile, he sent him a memoir, which he begged him to read attentively.

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[1] The missionary sent was Rev, Joseph Baxter. See "Journal of several visits to the Indians on the Kennebec River, by the Rev. Joseph Baxter of Medfield, Mass., 1717, with notes by the Rev. E. Nason." He was selected by Gov. Shute before the Arrowsick treaty of 1717, and was introduced to the Abnaki deputies by the Governor, at the time of its execution. Ib. p. 5. Maine Hist. Coll. iii., p, 364. Charlevoix follows Rale's Letter, Oct. 15, 1722. Lettres Édifiantes, Kip, Jesuit Missions, pp. 7–9.

[2] Baxter's Journal shows that he labored chiefly among the whites: he conversed with Indians from time to time on religion, and Jan'y 1, 1718, preached to the Indians at Saggadehock; but he is silent in regard to the children.

In this memoir, which was quite long, the missionary proved by Scripture, tradition and theological reasons, those dogmas which the minister had assailed with stale pleasantries. He added, at the close of his letter, that if he was not satisfied with his proof, he expected a clear refutation from him, grounded on certain principles, and not on vague arguments, still less on malignant reflections and indecent satires, which became neither their profession, nor the importance of the matters in discussion between them. 1713–22.

Two days after the receipt of this letter, the minister started back for Boston,[1] whence he addressed Father Rasle a brief reply; but so obscure, and in such unintelligible Latin, that the missionary, after reading it repeatedly, could make nothing of it, except, that the minister complained that he was unreasonably attacked; that only zeal for the salvation of souls had induced him to teach the way of heaven to the Indians; and that the proofs which he adduced against him, were ridiculous and puerile. The former leaves the field.

Father Rasle replied on the spot by a letter which he dispatched to Boston, and to which he received no answer, till after a lapse of two years: the minister, without entering into the matter, informed him that he had a susceptible and critical spirit, and that this was the sign of a temperament inclined to anger. Thus ended the dispute; the missionary delighted to have driven off the preacher so easily, and baffled the project this man had formed for seducing his flock. This first attempt proving so fruitless, the Boston government had recourse to another artifice, but with no better success.[2]

An Englishman asked of the Abénaquis permission to build a kind of storehouse on the banks of their river, in order to trade with them, promising to sell his goods much

[1] He embarked for Boston at Arrowsick, Sept. 8, 1721, O. S. Journal, p. 17.

[2] Rale's letter, Oct. 22, 1722. Rale criticised Baxter's Latin. Francis, Life of Rale, p. 258. See Hutchinson, ii., p. 239. Baxter's final reply is in the Mass. Hist. Soc'y. The missionary signed "Rale." Letter, Nov. 1712, see Francis, p. 164. Shea's Catholic Missions, facsimile from Parish Register in Canada.

1713–22. cheaper than they could buy them even at Boston. The Indians, finding the offer very advantageous, consented. Another Englishman soon after solicited the same permission, offering still more advantageous conditions than the former, and this was also granted. This facility in the Indians emboldened the English; they settled in quite large numbers along the river, without taking the trouble to ask the consent of the natives of the country: erecting houses and even building forts, some of them of stone.[1]

Many English settle on the banks of the Kennebec.

The Abénaquis did not seem offended, not perceiving the snare laid for them, and regarding only the convenience of finding in their new guests, all that they might desire; but at last, seeing themselves, as it were, surrounded by English settlements, they opened their eyes and began to distrust. They asked the English by what right they thus settled on their lands, and erected forts. They were told that the King of France had ceded their country to the English Crown, and the effect of this reply on their mind can be conceived, only when it is known to what a point these nations are jealous of their liberty and independence.

The Abenaquis protest that they are independent.

They made no reply to the English, but dispatched deputies at once to the Marquis de Vaudreuil, to ascertain from him whether it was true that the King of France had disposed in favor of the Queen of England of a country of which they claimed to be sole masters. The Governor-General's reply was, that the treaty of Utrecht did not mention their country, and this satisfied them. Some time before, the Governor-General of New England had assembled their chiefs, to impart to them intelligence of the peace concluded between the French and English, and having exhorted them to live on good terms with him, and forget all the past, he added that the King of France had given to the Queen of England, Placentia and Port Royal, with all the adjacent lands. A chief replied, that the King of France might dispose of what belonged to

[1] These settlements were evidently made prior to the time supposed here by Charlevoix, not after 1721.

him; as for himself, he had his land where God had placed him, and as long as a child of his nation survived, he would fight to maintain it. The English governor did not insist, and dismissed the Indians after feasting them.[1] 1713–22.

They are betrayed by the English

Reassured by this course, they no longer thought of disturbing the English who were in the neighborhood of the Kennebec: they even gradually got in the way of trading with them; but one day, having entered an English place to the number of twenty, they suddenly beheld themselves invested by two hundred armed men. "We are dead men," at once cried one of them, "but let us sell our lives dearly." They prepared, in fact, to rush on this troop, when the English, aware what these Indians are capable of when driven to bay, declared that they had no designs against them; that they merely came to invite them to send some of their chiefs to Boston to confer with the Governor-General on the means of confirming the peace and good understanding between the two nations.[2]

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[1] Rale's Letter to his nephew, Oct. 15, 1722. Lettres Edifiantes. (Kip, p. 9.) The French did not admit that the Abnaki territory was comprised in Acadia, but restricted that title to the peninsula now called Nova Scotia. See Memoirs in N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., pp. 878–881; Aubery's Memoir, 1720, Ib. pp. 894–5; Bobé's Memoir, Ib. pp. 913–7; Ib. 932–3; Answer to Memoir of his Britannic Majesty, Ib. pp. 981–2. Still the French government, as if conscious that it could not be long held, proposed to remove the Abénaqui Indians to Cape Breton, Ib. p. 879. Father de la Chasse urged his government to settle the boundary with England, as had been done at the treaty of Ryswick, but they would not act on his wise counsel. Ib.

[2] Rale to his nephew, Oct. 15, 1722. Vaudreuil and Begon to Louis XIV., Oct. 8, 1721, citing Rale, and Vaudreuil to Rale, June 15. (Hutchinson, ii., p. 237,) mentions a division in the village in regard to any further opposition to the English and the giving of hostages, but not the treacherous action here mentioned. On the 2d Nov., 1720, at the General Court, the House ordered 150 men to march to Norridgewock to compel payment of trespasses; Rale to be apprehended by John Leighton, High Sheriff of York, but the Council refused to concur. Hutchinson, ii., p. 219. He remarks: "The charge of carrying on the war, it was said, would be no burden to the province; the French now durst not join the Indians, and this would be the most favorable opportunity which could be expected to subdue or utterly extirpate them." The General Court passed such a resolution in 1721, renewed in 1722, and an expedition sent. Hutchinson, ii., pp. 243, 245, 276.

1713–22. The Indians have a facility for believing what is told them, which the bitterest experience has never been able to cure: the Abénaquis at once appointed four deputies who proceeded to Boston, where they were astonished to see themselves arrested as prisoners as soon as they arrived. This was no sooner heard in their villages, than they sent to demand an explanation of such a strange proceeding.

They were told that their deputies were detained not as prisoners, but as hostages, to be released as soon as the nation had compensated the English for some cattle killed by the Indians in their settlements, the value of which amounted to two hundred pounds of beaver.[1] The Abénaquis did not admit the fact, still they did not wish to be reproached with having abandoned their brethren for so small a matter, and they paid the two hundred pounds of beaver.

This did not, however, advance matters. The prisoners were not given up, and various pretexts raised for their detention. At last, however, the Governor-General feared that this detention would lead to disagreable results, and he proposed to the Abénaquis a conference to terminate their differences amicably. It was accepted; the day and place were fixed; the Indians came with Father Rasle; and Father de la Chasse, Superior-General of the Missions, who was making his visitation in those parts, where he had long been a missionary, also attended, but the English Governor failed to appear.[2]

Letter of these Indians to the Governor General of New England.

The Indians were furious, and would have proceeded to violence had they not been restrained. The course they adopted, was to write a letter to the Governor: Father de la Chasse drew it up. Its substance was: 1st. That the Abénaquis could not understand why their deputies were retained in irons after the promise to release them as soon

[1] Penhallow makes the giving of the four hostages and the promise to pay 200 beaver-skins in 1720, voluntary. Indian Wars, p. 85.

[2] This was in July, 1721. Penhallow, who commanded in the fort at Arrowsick, is silent as to any invitation from the Governor, but treats it as a spontaneous movement of the Indians, p. 86.

as the two hundred pounds of beaver were paid. 2d, That they were not less surprised to see them disposing of their country and settling it without their consent. 3d, That all the English must withdraw as soon as possible, and the prisoners retained contrary to the law of nations, must be given up. 4th, That if in two months there was no answer to this letter, or it did not produce the effect anticipated, the nation would do itself justice.[1] 1713–22.

This letter was taken to Boston in July, 1721,[2] by some Englishmen who had come to represent the Governor-General at the conference just mentioned. As the two months elapsed without hearing anything of it, the Abénaquis prepared to carry out their threats and make reprisals. None could have been more just; however, the Marquis de Vaudreuil thought it his duty to oppose acts of violence and it required all his influence to prevent them; but this did not last long. The English exhausted the patience of the Abénaquis by two acts that admit of no excuse.

The English carry off the Baron de St. Castin.

The first was the kidnapping of the Baron de St. Castin. This gentlemen's father, as already stated, had married an Abénaqui woman, so that on his mother's side the young Baron belonged to that nation. He had always resided with his maternal relatives, the only ones he knew;

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[1] See letter, July 28, 1721, signed by Abnakis of Narants8ak, Pentug. 8et, Narakamig8, Anmiss8kanti, Muanbissek, Peg8akki, Medokteck, K8apahag, Pesmokanti, Arsikanteg8, 8an8inak, and their allies; the Iroquois of the Sault and the Mountain, Algonquins, Hurons, Mikemaks, Northshore Montagnez, Papinachois and other neighboring nations, each signing their own totem. Mass. Hist. Coll. II. viii., p. 259. See Treaty of Utrecht, art. 15, for English obligations.

[2] Vaudreuil and Begon to Louis XIV., Oct. 8, 1721. N. Y. Col. Doc., x., p. 903–4. Rale in Kip, p. 13. Penhallow, p. 86, says new troops were sent, and "some gentlemen of the Council were appointed to inquire into the ground of these tumults, and if possible, to renew the pacification, who accordingly went, but the Indians slighted the message with derision."—During this threatening time, Rale rebuilt his church at Norridgewock, by means of French workmen, according to his letter, though Hutchinson, ii., p. 239, incidentally alludes to Boston mechanics "engaging on building a church and other work at Norridgewock." Arrowsick, the place of this conference, is in Sagadahoc Bay, about a league below the junction of the Androscoggin and the Kennebec.

1713–22. and since the loss of Acadia, he was the King's commandant in their country. He had, moreover, since his father's decease, succeeded to the general command conferred on St. Castin by all those tribes when he allied himself to them; and in this capacity he had attended the conference proposed by the Governor-General of New England.

This the English made a crime: they sent a vessel towards the place of his residence, which was on the seashore; and the captain, having taken the precaution to show only two or three men on his deck, as soon as he cast anchor, sent an invitation to the Baron to take some refreshments on board. The Baron, having no reason to suspect this officer, whom he knew intimately, went aboard alone, and as soon as he reached the vessel, the captain hoisted sail and took him to Boston, in the month of December, 1721.[1] There he was placed in the dock and examined as a criminal. Among other things, he was asked why, and in what capacity he had gone to the place appointed for the conference between the Governor-General and the Abénaquis; whether he had not been deputed by the Marquis de Vaudreuil, and what was meant by the uniform he wore.

He replied that he was an Abénaqui on his mother's side, that he had spent his whole life with those Indians, who had made him chief and commandant-general of their nation; and that in that capacity he did not consider that he could refrain from attending a meeting where the interests of his brethren were to be discussed; that he had received no orders from the Governor-General of New France, and that the dress he wore was not a uniform, but one becoming his birth and rank, having the honor to be an officer in the troops of the Most Christian King, his sovereign.[2]

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[1] Late in December, 1721, or early in Jan'y, 1722. Sale.

[2] This was evidently Anselm, Baron de St. Castin, son of Baron John Vincent, by Matilda, daughter of Madockawando. In spite of his half-Indian blood, he married Charlotte d'Amours, daughter of a French officer, in 1707. Bangor Centennial, p. 25. Vaudreuil had made him commandant at Pentagoet, with the rank of lieutenant en pied, January

Meanwhile, the Marquis de Vaudreuil, learning of the detention of that commandant, wrote to the Governor-General of New England, to complain of it and demand the liberation of the Baron; he received no reply, but at the end of five months the prisoner was set at liberty. He soon after went over to France, to take possession of his father's property at Bearn, which he did not subsequently leave.

He is released.

The second act of the English, which completely roused the Abénaquis against them, concerned Father Rasle, and was pushed much further. They were convinced at Boston that this missionary would always prove an invincible obstacle to their design of gradually seizing all the country lying between New England and Acadia, inasmuch as he, by carefully maintaining his neophytes in their attachment to the Catholic faith, drew closer and closer the bonds that united them to the French. After several attempts, at first to induce those Indians by the most seductive offers and promises, to deliver him up to the English, or at least send him back to Quebec, and take one of their missionaries in his stead; then to surprise and carry him off, the English resolved to get rid of him, cost them what it might. They set a price on his head, and promised a thousand pounds sterling to any one who brought it to them.

The English fail in an attempt to carry off Father Rasle.

All this failing, they at last thought that they had found an opportunity to seize his person, towards the end of January, 1722. They learned that he had remained at the village of Narantsoak, with a small number of the weak and

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1, 1711. Canada Doc., III. ii., pp. 881–2. He was seized under an order of Court, and the House ordered him, against all law, to be tried in Suffolk County, before the Superior Court. The council objected, and St. Castin was examined before a committee of conference, which is probably the examination here referred to. See Hutchinson, ii., p. 246. On the report of the Committee, he was set at large. A Sieur de St. Castin appears in the Documents down to 1731, but there is nothing to show whether it was the young Baron or a brother. Two daughters of the first Baron were married, Dec. 4, 1707; one to the Sieur Alexandre Le Borgne de Bellisle, the other to Philip de Ponbomcou. For other notes as to the descendants of the Baron, see Bangor Centennial, p. 25. Williamson, II. 71, 144.

1713–22. aged, while the rest were hunting; they sent a detachment of two hundred men.[1] Fortunately, two young men, who were hunting on the seashore, perceived them entering the Kennebec; suspecting their design, they ran overland to warm Father Rasle to be on his guard, and the old people to fly to the woods.

The missionary, as he believed duty required, began by consuming the consecrated hosts, which were in his chapel, and putting the sacred vessels and altar vestments in a secure place, after which he followed his Indians, whom he had sent on into the woods. That very evening the English reached the village, and not finding the one they sought, followed him next day in his retreat. They were within gun-shot when perceived, and the missionary was actually vested to say mass, if some accounts are to be believed.

His only alternative was to strike deeper into the woods; but as he had not had time to take his snow-shoes, and did not walk easily, having had a leg and thigh broken some years before, he could do nothing but hide behind a tree. The English followed several paths trodden by the Indians, and were not eight paces from the tree which covered their prey, when, as though repulsed by an unseen hand, they halted and turned back to the village, where they plundered the church and the missionary's house. They thus left him without provisions, and he suffered much from want of all things, till the Jesuits at Quebec, informed of the extremity to

[1] Vaudreuil and Begon to Minister, 17 Oct., 1722. N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 910. Rale, Letter in Lettres Edif. (Kip, p. 15.) This expedition, known as Capt. Harmon's, reached Norridgewock Jan. 15, 1722, carried off his Abnaki Dictionary, now in Harvard College, and published in 1833 in the Memoirs of the American Academy, as well as his strong box, now in the Massachusetts Historical Society. Penhallow, p. 87, mentions an expedition of Harmon about this time, to the Kennebec, but makes no allusion to Rale's village; he mentions another expedition which set out Feb. 10, 1723, p. 94. Penhallow himself, an actor in the war, acknowledges that many, while blaming the Indian cruelties, admitted the injustice done them by neglecting to fulfill what had been promised at the various treaties, p. 88. See Hutchinson, ii., p. 244.

which he had been reduced, had an opportunity to supply all his wants.[1] 1713–22.

The Abenaquis declare war.

These repeated insults taught the Indians that there was no hope of settlement to be expected from the English, and that it was time to seek peace by vigorous ways. As soon as they returned from their hunt, and had sowed their lands, they resolved to destroy all the English dwellings on the Kennebec, and to drive from their villages a restless people, who openly menaced their liberty. They sent deputies to all their brethren and allies, to induce them to lend a hand in the just defence if it became necessary, and these appeals met all the success anticipated. War was chanted among the Hurons of Lorette, and in all the Abénaqui towns, and Narantsoak was made the rendezvous of the warriors.[2]

Conduct it successfully.

A detachment sent out, had already descended the river to the sea, and finding there three or four small vessels of the enemy, captured them; then ascended the river, plundering and burning all the English settlements, but doing no violence to the settlers, who were even left at liberty to retire whither they chose, except five, who were kept as hostages, to answer for the Abénaqui deputies, still retained prisoners at Boston. Some time after, an English

[1] Vaudreuil and Begon, Oct. 17, 1722. N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 910.

[2] Gov. Shute proclaimed war July 25, 1722. Penhallow, pp. 89–90. For a French account of these Indian operations, see Vaudreuil and Begon. N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 933–5; Penhallow gives the New England version, pp. 90 &c. Among the first expeditions was one in 1723, under Col. Thomas Westbrooke, which ascended the Penobscot, and M'ch 9, 1723, destroyed the fort, 23 dwellings church and priest's house, apparently on Nicolas Island, at Passadumkeag. Bangor Centennial, p. 27. Vaudreuil and Begon's Dispatches. N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 933. Westbrooke's Letter, March 23, 1723, Mass. Hist. Coll., III. ii., p. 264, It is usual to make Pannawamské the same as Old Town; but on the Map of the Eastern Part of New France, vol. iv., Penaounke is considerably above the outlet of the lake that enters the river opposite Old Town. Mr. Godfrey seems more correct in placing it at Nicolas Island, where traces still exist. Pannawamské, evidently the origin of Penobscot, means, "At the fall of the rock." Trumbull, Indian Geographical Names, p. 19. Capt. Heath, in 1725, destroyed another town of 50 houses, while the Indians were actually negotiating a peace. Hutchinson, ii., p. 286.

[3] Hutchinson, ii., p. 250.

1713-22. party having surprised sixteen Indians on an island, where they had fallen asleep, fired on them, killing five and wounding as many.

Father Rasle refuses to retire to Quebec.

War being thus rekindled between the two nations, the inhabitants of Narantsoak urged Father Rasle to retire for a time to Quebec, telling him, that if he fell into the hands of the English, the least that would befall him would be to drag out the rest of his days in a harsh captivity. He replied that he did not fear the threats of those who hated him solely for his zeal for the salvation of his flock, and he added these words of the Apostle, (Acts, xx., 24:) "Neither do I count my life more precious than myself, so that I may consummate my course, and the ministry of the Word which I received from the Lord Jesus."[1]

He is killed by the English.

It resulted as the Indians had foreseen; the English seemed to make war only to get rid of one man, to whom alone they ascribed the opposition manifested by the Abénaquis to a submission to them. At last, despairing of taking him by surprise, they resolved to employ force. On the 23d of August, 1724, eleven hundred men,[2] part English and part Indians, marched to Narantsoak. The dense undergrowth by which the village was surrounded, and the want of precaution on the part of the inhabitants against an unforeseen attack, prevented their being seen till the moment when they poured in a general volley of musketry, riddling all the cabins.

There were then only fifty warriors in the town. These flew to arms, and ran in confusion, not to defend the place against an enemy already within it, but to cover the flight of the women, aged and children, and to give them time to gain the river side, not yet occupied by the English. Warned of the danger in which his neophytes were by the cries and tumult, Father Rasle went fearlessly to meet the assailants, in the hope of drawing all their attention on

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[1] There are suspicious translations of two letters found at Norridgewalk and ascribed to Rale in Mass. Hist. Coll., II. viii., pp. 245, 266.

[2] The Lettres Edifiantes say, a small force of 1100 men, which leads us to infer it to be a misprint for 100.

himself alone, and thus saving his flock at the peril of his life. His hope was not vain. Scarcely had he appeared, when the English uttered a loud cry, which was followed by a shower of musket-balls, under which he fell dead, near a cross that he had planted in the midst of the village. Seven Indians who accompanied, and wished to shield him with their bodies, were slain beside him. 1713–22.

Thus died this charitable pastor, giving his life for his flock, after a painful apostleship of thirty-seven years. His death spread consternation among the Indians, who at once took flight and crossed the river by swimming or fording, but constantly pursued by the enemy, till they reached the depths of the woods, where they rallied to the number of one hundred and fifty. Although more than two thousand shots were fired at them, only thirty were killed and fourteen wounded.

The English, seeing no further resistance, proceeded to plunder and burn the cabins. They did not spare the church, but did not set fire to it, till after they had unworthily profaned the sacred vessels and the adorable Body of Christ. They then retired with a precipitation resembling flight, and as though they had been smitten with a panic terror. The Indians immediately returned to their village; and their first care, while the women were seeking herbs and plants proper to cure the wounded, was to weep over the body of their holy missionary.

They found him pierced with a thousand blows, his scalp torn off,[1] his skull crushed by hatchets, his mouth and eyes full of mud, his leg-bones broken, and all his members mutilated in a hundred different ways. Thus was a priest treated in his mission, at the foot of a cross, by those very men, who on all occasions exaggerate so greatly the pretended inhumanities of our Indians, who have never been seen to use such violence to the dead bodies of their ene-

[1] The colonial rewards for scalps, made it too rich a trophy to leave. A volunteer without pay got fifty pounds for a scalp; if in service, twenty; while regulars got ten. Penhallow, p. 48. Lovewell's party got a hundred pounds a scalp. Ib. p. 106. Even the Rev. Mr. Frye of this party is recorded to have scalped several Indians.

1713–23. mies. After his neophytes had raised up and repeatedly kissed the precious remains of a Father tenderly and so justly beloved, they buried him on the very spot where, the day before, he had celebrated the holy mysteries; that is to say, on the spot where the altar stood before the church was burned.[1]

His eulogy. Father Rasle was of a good family in Franche Comté, and died in his sixty-seventh year: he was of a robust constitution, but fasting and continual hardships had greatly enfeebled him, especially after the accident which befell him nineteen years before. In that long and tedious illness, I often admired his patience, and we could not see how he could endure such a cruel operation without uttering a single cry. He knew almost all the languages spoken in this vast continent, and he had labored for the salvation of almost all the nations that inhabit it.[2] Three years before

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[1] The main French account is Father de la Chasse's Letter, Quebec, Oct. 29, 1724; published in the various editions of the Lettres Edifiantes. (In English, in Kip, pp. 69–78,) and Vaudreuil's letter, Nov. 28, 1724. N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., pp. 936–9 and 945–6. Hutchinson, Hist. Mass. ii., pp. 281–4, gives in substance, Harman's Journal, and an oral account from Capt. Moulton, the commander. Harman made a sworn statement, charging Rale with stabbing an English boy, a prisoner, and firing from his cabin, as well as refusing quarter, though he does not assert that he saw this. Moulton doubted the last statement, and we may well doubt the rest beyond the fact that he was killed in a cabin from which a vigorous defence was made. Unfortunately Penhallow, pp. 103–4, gives his general deductions from what he had been taught to be Catholic doctrines instead of any actual facts.

The Indian loss was seven men, seven women and fourteen children killed, and many wounded.

[2] It is not easy to form an opinion in Rale's case. The position of the Indian tribes as quasi nations, and their right to make just war in defence of their lands, seems admitted. As ancient friends of the French, they came under the treaty of Utrecht, and Rale had a perfect right to labor among them. The Canadian authorities claimed, and Rale apparently advised the Indians that war was just; while New England writers admit that promises made the Indians had not been fulfilled. But if the Indian course was just, it was unwise, as they could not hope to resist the whole force of New England: so that the French authorities were cruel alike to Rale and to his flock, whose removal to the St. Lawrence would have saved them from destruction and strengthened Canada. Vaudreuil and Begon's Letter, (Hutchinson, ii., pp. 237–8.) They complained of his death as a murder of a French subject on French soil. N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., pp. 941, 980; yet they could not but have foreseen it.

his death, on his Superior suggesting that it was time for him to take steps to withdraw from the fury of the English, who had sworn to destroy him, he replied that his measures were taken. "God has confided this flock to me, I will follow its lot, too happy to lay down my life for it." He often repeated the same thing to his neophytes. After his death, these fervent Christians said: "We have seen but too well that this dear Father spoke to us in the fullness of his heart; we have seen him face death with a tranquil air, and alone meet the rage of the enemy, to give us time to put our lives in safety." Nor was he less regretted in the Colony than among his Indians; but men thought rather of exalting his happiness, than of offering prayers for the repose of his soul. When Father de la Chasse requested of the Abbé de Belmont, Superior of the Seminary of Montreal, the suffrages of the church for Father Rasle, according to the communion of prayers existing between the Sulpitians and the Jesuits, that venerable and aged priest replied only in the words of St. Augustine: "He wrongs a martyr who prays for him."[1] 1713–22.

The war between the Indians and the English still continued for a time, always to the disadvantage of the latter, whose hostilities only served to render invincible the aversion always entertained for them by the Indians. The English at last were forced to adopt the course of leaving the Indians at peace. France had not entered this con-

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Rale's Life has been written at some length by Rev. Convers Francis. (Sparks' American Biography, volume 17,) and in Die Katholisches Kirche in dem Vereinigten Staten, Regensburg, 1864. The authorities are chiefly the Letters in the Lettres Edifiantes, and in the Mass. Hist. Coll., series II. vol. viii.

[1] Father La Chasse's Letter in the Lettres Edifiantes, (Kip, 76.) The spot where his village and chapel stood, is now called Indian Old Point, and a monument to the missionary was erected here by Bishop Benedict Fenwick, in 1833. It was subsequently thrown down.

Father Sebastian Rale, born in Franche Comté, January 4, 1657; entered the Society of Jesus in the Province of Lyons, Sept. 25, 1674; taught in the College at Nismes; reached America, Oct. 13, 1689; was first sent to the Abnaki mission at St. Francis; was in Illinois in 1693–4, and on the Kennebec from 1695 till his death, Aug. 23, 1724.

His successor was Father James de Syresme, born Oct. 22 1695; be-

1713-24. test, so as not to give the least pretext for disturbing the good understanding which it had cost so much to restore between the two Crowns. The settling of the boundaries even ceased to be negotiated in the two courts, although commissioners had been appointed on both sides in 1719. There is every reason to believe that the English who massacred Father Rasle, were disavowed, as the matter was not at all followed up on our side; moreover, it is not for men to avenge the blood of martyrs.[1]

The English forced to leave the Indians at rest.

Description of the island of Cape Breton.

By the cession of Acadia and Placentia to the English, France had no place left to catch cod, or rather dry it, except the island of Cape Breton, now known only under the name of Isle Royale. This island lies between the forty-fifth and forty-seventh degree of north latitude, and with Newfoundland, from which it is only fifteen or sixteen leagues distant, forms the entrance to the Gulf of St. Lawrence. The strait which separates it from Acadia, is only about five common French leagues long, by one broad, and is called the Passage de Fronsac.[2] Its length from northeast to southwest-east[3] is not quite fifty leagues, and its greatest breadth from east to west is not over thirty-three. It is very irregular in form, and so intersected by lakes and rivers, that the two chief divisions are connected with each other only by an isthmus about eight hundred paces wide, which separates the head of Port Toulouse from several lakes called Labrador. These lakes empty into the sea on the east, by two channels of unequal width, formed by the island of Verderonne or la Boularderie, which is seven or eight leagues long.[4]

The climate of this island is about the same as that of

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came a Jesuit in 1712; came to America in 1716, and began his labors at Norridgewock in 1730. He died in Canada, Aug. 28, 1747.

[1] For the condition of the Abnakis in 1724, see N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 939–940.

[2] Gut of Canso.

[3] Southwest.

[4] Pichon, Lettres et Memoires pour servir à l'Histoire du Cap Breton, pp. 1–53. Jefferys, French Dominions, p. 119. Pichon was a French officer who betrayed the operations of his own forces to the enemy. Hence his remarks are to be received with caution. See Akins, Nova Scotia Documents, p. 229, note.

CARTE DE
L'ISLE ROYALE
Dressée par N. Bellin
Ingenieur de la Marine
1744.
Cap de Nord
Port Dauphin
Pointe Plate
Cap Dauphin
Cap de Labrador
Entrée de Labrador
Pointe de Verderone
Petite Entrée de Labrador
Baye des Espagnols
Baye de Mire
I. de Scatari ou I. de Pontchartrain
Baye du Monadou
Baye de la Trambade
Pointe a la Flouric
I. aux Cannes
Portenove ou la Baleine
Roche sous l'eau
Havre a l'Anglois
Louisbourg
Baye de Gabori
LABRADOR
appellé par les Sauvages
Bideauboch
Port Toulouze
Isles Madame ou I. Maurepas
B. de Chedabouctou
I. aux Renards
Cap fezari
ECHELLES
Lieues Communes de France de 2282. Toises chacune
Lieues Marines de France et d'Angleterre de 2853. Toises
Longitude Occidentale du Meridien de Paris
Latitude Septentrional

Quebec, and although fogs are more frequent, there is no complaint of the insalubrity of the air. The soil is not always good, yet it produces trees of all kinds. You see there, oaks of prodigious size, pines fit for masts, and all sorts of building wood. Besides the oak, the most common trees are the cedar, ash, maple, plane and aspen. Fruits, especially apples, vegetables, wheat and all other grains necessary for subsistence; hemp and flax are less abundant, but of as good a quality as in Canada. The mountains, it has been noticed, can be cultivated to their very summits; the good lands slope southward, and are sheltered from northers and northwesters by the mountains which skirt the coast towards the river St. Lawrence.[1] 1713–24. Climate and character of the island.

All the domestic animals, horses, cattle, swine, sheep, goats and poultry, find abundant food. Hunting and fishing can maintain the inhabitants a good part of the year. This island has several abundant mines of excellent coal, and these mines are in mountains, so that to extract the coal, requires neither digging nor diversion of waters, as in Auvergne: gypsum is also found. It is asserted, that there is no place in the world, where more codfish are taken, or where there are greater conveniences for drying it. This island formerly abounded in deer; these are now very rare, and the elk especially so. Partridges are almost as large as a pheasant, and quite resemble it in plumage; while the seal fishery, and that for porpoises and walruses, can be conveniently carried on, and are very productive. Its riches.

All its ports open to the east, turning southward, for a distance of fifty-five leagues, commencing at Port Dauphin, down to Port Toulouse, which is almost at the mouth of Fronsac Passage.[2] Everywhere else, it is difficult to find anchorage for small craft, in the bays or between the islands. All the whole north coast is high and almost inaccessible; nor is the western side of more easy approach down to Fronsac Passage, on passing which, Ports.

[1] Pichon, Lettres &c., pp. 6, 11–14. [2] Ib. pp. 49, 81, 50, 31.

1713–24. you come first to Port Toulouse, formerly called St. Pierre. It is properly between a kind of gulf, called Petit St. Pierre, and the St. Pierre islands, opposite the Madame, or Maurepas islands. Thence running southeast, you come to Gabori Bay, the mouth of which, about twenty leagues from St. Pierre islands, is a league wide between isles and rocks. All the islands can be approached very near, some of them advancing into the sea a league and a half. This bay is two leagues deep, and has very good anchorage.[1]

The harbor of Louysbourg, formerly called Havre à l'Anglois, is only about a league distant; it is one of the finest in America. It is about four leagues in circuit, with six or seven fathoms of water everywhere. The anchorage is good, and vessels may be beached on its sands without risk. Its entrance is only two hundred fathoms wide, between two little islands, and it is distinguished twelve leagues off at sea by Cap de Lorembec, which lies not far off on the northeast. Two leagues higher is Port de la Baleine, difficult of access in consequence of numerous rocks which the sea covers when rough. Vessels only of three hundred tons can enter, but once in they are perfectly safe. It is not two leagues thence to Panadou or Menadou Bay, which has an entrance about a league wide, and is two leagues deep. Nearly opposite lies Scatari Island, formerly Little Cape Breton, which is over two leagues long: Miré Bay is separated from it only by a very narrow tongue of land. Its has an entrance nearly two leagues wide, and it is eight in depth; it narrows in as you enter, and several rivers or streams empty into it. Large vessels can advance six leagues and find good anchorage, sheltered from the winds. Besides Scatari Island, there are several others smaller, and rocks never covered by the water, and visible at a distance; the largest of these rocks is called Forillon. Morienne[2] Bay is above, separated from Miré Bay by Cap Brulé,[3] and a little higher up

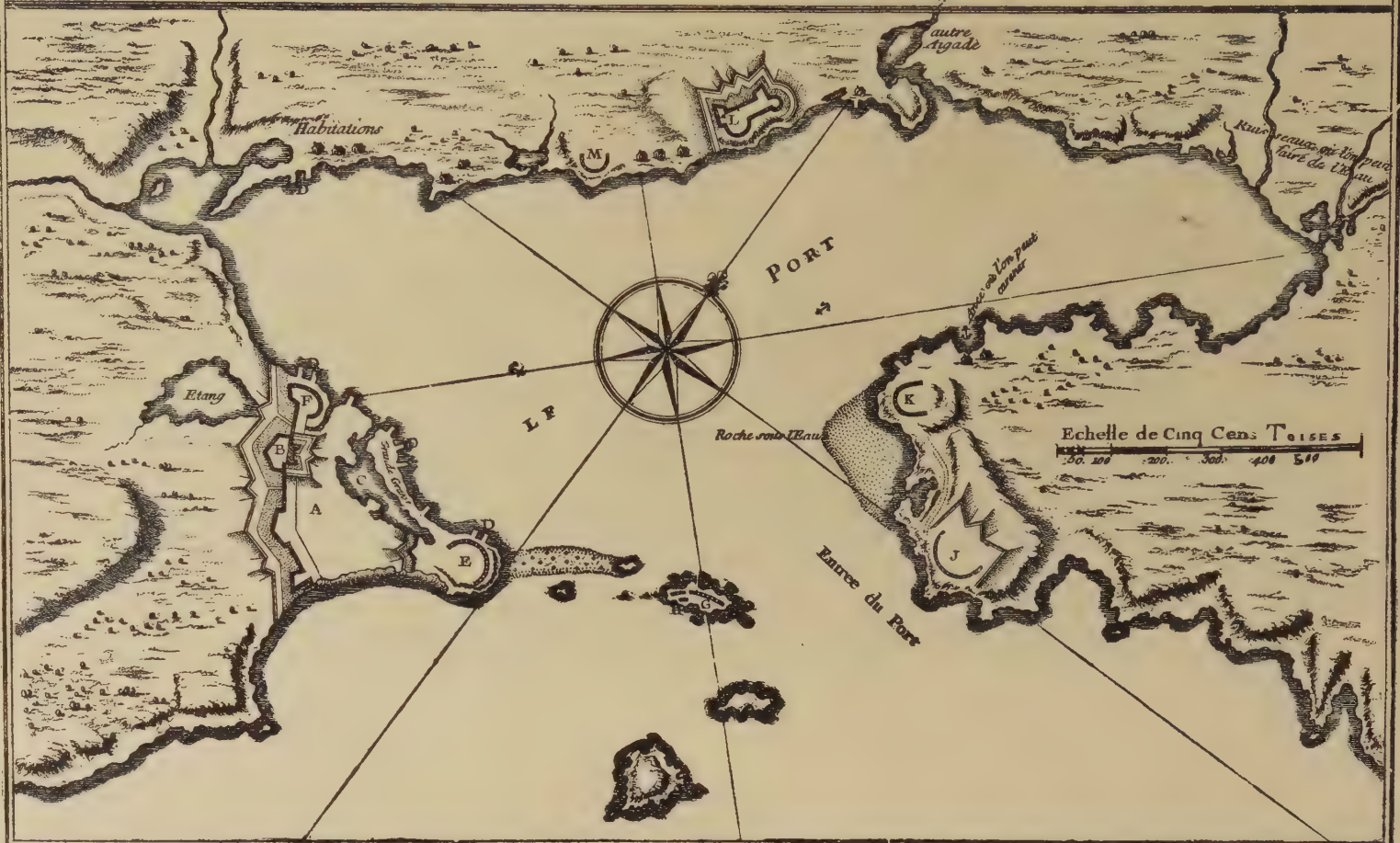
[1] Compare Pichon, pp. 36, 31, 50; and for Isles Madame, p. 37.

[2] Cow Bay.

[3] False Beach Bay.

PLAN DU PORT ET VILLE DE LOUISBOURG dans l'Isle Royale. P. N. B. Ing. de la M. 1744

A. *Ville de Louisbourg.*
B. *Casernes.*
C. *Etang qui sert de Port pendant l'Hiver aux Batteaux de pêche.*
D. *Echafaux sur lesquels on pare et sale la morue pour les faire ensuite secher.*
E. *Batterie de 20 Canons.*
F. *Batt.e de 30. Canons.*
G. *Batt.e de 40. Canons.*
H. *Batt.e de 8 Canons pour défendre la précedente.*
J. *Batt.e de 24. Canons.*
K. *Batterie de 15 Canons.*
L. *Batterie de 40. Canons.*
M. *Batterie de 15. Canons*



is Isle Plate, or Isle à Pierre à Fusil, just at forty-six degrees, eight minutes, north. In among all these isles and rocks there is good shelter, and they may be approached without fear. 1713–24.

Thence ascending three leagues northwesterly, you come to l'Indiane,[1] which is a good harbor; but for small vessels, only: from l'Indiane to the Bay des Espagnols,[2] is two leagues: this bay is a very fine harbor. Its entrance is only a thousand paces in width, but it enlarges gradually, and a league further on it separates into two branches, which can be ascended three leagues. Both are very good ports, which can be much improved at little cost. From this bay to the smaller entrance of Labrador,[3] is two leagues, and the island which separates it from the greatest entrance, is the same length. Labrador is a gulf, which is more than twenty leagues long, and three or four in its greatest width. From the larger entrance of Labrador to Port Dauphin or St. Anne's, is reckoned a league and a half. Ships anchor off shore in all security, among the Cibou islands. A tongue of land almost completely closes the port, leaving only passage for a single ship. The port is two leagues in circuit, and the vessels scarcely feel the winds on account of the highlands and mountains surrounding them. Moreover, they can approach the shore when they will. All these harbors and ports being so near each other, might be easily connected by roads overland, and nothing would be more advantageous for the inhabitants than these communications, which in winter-time, would save them the trouble of sailing around.[4]

Projects of the Messrs. Raudot for a settlement in this island.

As long as France possessed Acadia and the south shore of Newfoundland, little account was made of this island. The Messieurs Raudot were the first to see that it was not to be neglected. They even undertook to make it one of the principal objects of attention of the Ministry in regard to New France, and in 1706 they sent to the

[1] Glace Bay.
[2] Sydney Harbor.
[3] Little Bras D'or.
[4] Pichon, pp. 5, 46–50; Jefferys, pp. 119–20.

1713–24. Court a memoir, of which the reader will be the better pleased to see the substance here, as it explains very clearly the actual position of that colony. It can, I believe, be safely asserted, that if this memoir does not persuade all, who read this history, to join in the preference given to Isle Royale over Acadia, it will at least show that after the cession of that province and the port of Placentia to the English Crown, a solid establishment on that island was indispensably necessary.

The two Intendants first assume that the chief, and almost sole object in fact, aimed at in the colony of Canada, has been the Fur Trade, especially that in beaver-skins; which is true, however, only of individuals; but they remark justly, that it should have been foreseen that in course of time the beaver-skins would be exhausted, or become too common, and that consequently, they would not suffice to sustain a colony of that importance; that it has, in fact, fallen into the latter of these two difficulties, the abundance of beaver having ruined it. Private individuals, who had no object except to enrich themselves speedily, disregarded this. It mattered little to them what became of New France, after they had drawn from it wherewith to live at ease in Old France.

They then observe that the Beaver trade has never been able to maintain more than a very limited number of settlers; that the use of this commodity can never be sufficiently general to maintain and enrich a whole colony; and if the consumption were sure, they could avoid the difficulty just stated, only to fall into the first; that for want of making these reflections, the colonists of New France had devoted themselves almost exclusively to this trade, as if they had been certain that the beavers would reproduce as rapidly as codfish in the sea, and that the sale of their skins would equal the sale of that fish. They have accordingly made it their chief business to roam through woods and lakes in pursuit of furs. These long and frequent voyages have accustomed them to a life of indolence, which they renounce reluctantly, although their jour-

neys now produce very little, in consequence of the low price of beaver. The English, they continue, have pursued a very different course. Without wasting time on such long excursions, they have tilled their soil, established manufactures, set up glass-works, opened iron mines, built ships, and have never regarded furs but as an accessory on which little dependence was placed. 1713–24.

Necessity has, it is true, at last opened the eyes of the Canadians; they have been forced to cultivate flax and hemp, to make linen cloth and inferior druggets of the wool of their old clothes mixed with thread; but the long contracted habit of doing nothing, prevented their rising completely from want. All, indeed, have grain and live stock enough to live, but many lack covering for their bodies, and are forced to pass the long severe winter clad in deer-skins.

Yet the King expends in that colony a hundred thousand crowns a year: the furs are worth about two hundred and eighty thousand livres; the oils and other minor products bring in twenty thousand livres; the pensions on the royal treasury paid by the King to individuals, and the revenues held by the bishop and seminaries in France, amount to fifty thousand francs. This makes six hundred and fifty thousand livres, on which all New France rolls. On this sum alone can it conduct its trade; and it is evident that this cannot be sufficiently great to maintain a colony of twenty or twenty-five thousand souls, and furnish what they are obliged to draw from France.

Its affairs were formerly on a better footing, the King spending a great deal more there; it shipped beaver to France to the amount of about a million, and was not so thickly settled; but it always drew more than it was able to pay, which ruined its credit with mercantile men, who are in our days not disposed to send goods to Canadian merchants without letters of exchange or a good security. From this, and the low price to which beaver has fallen, it followed that all the money in Canada had to go to France to obtain goods; so that there was a

1713-24. time when there was not, perhaps, a thousand crowns in silver coin in the country. Paper money made up the deficiency. I will not repeat here what I have said in my Journal as to this money; its advantages, its drawbacks, and the reasons for suppressing it.

The Messieurs Raudot, after thus exposing the state in which New France stood till the year 1708, in regard to its trade and its faculties, give the means which they devised to render it more flourishing. This colony, they say, might carry on a trade in its own products, which would enrich it. These products are salt meats, masts, planks, sheathing, timber for building and staves, tar, pitch, whale, seal and porpoise-oil, codfish, hemp and flax; to which might be added iron and copper. It only requires to find an opening for all this, and to reduce the price of labor.

The difficulty on the last score, arises from the indolence of the inhabitants and the high price of French goods. At times, when work is scarcest, the workman expects twenty-five sous a day, for the reason that he uses up more clothes in working than he can replace by his labor. On the other hand, goods in Canada are at double French prices. This seems exorbitant, but after reckoning twenty-five per cent for assurance, (though this is only in war time, at least at that rate,) expenses of commission, freight, which sometimes exceeds forty crowns a ton, interest on money advanced, charges to be paid to agents, and which are heavy when drafts are not met at maturity, as is often the case, and exchange on Paris, it will be found that the merchant does not gain much. In fact, none in the country are rich.

To raise up the colony of Canada, all the people must be employed, each according to his ability, and every individual enabled to subsist by diminishing the price of goods. Now this might apparently be attained by finding a place to which they could cheaply and conveniently carry their produce and obtain French goods to take home. They will thus gain a part of the freight of both, and that part of the people who rust out in inaction or roam the woods, would be employed in navigation.

"But would not this means be injurious to France," the two Intendants ask, "by depriving it of part of the profit it makes on goods?" "No," they reply, "because the freight gained by the colonists of New France, they will restore to France by consuming a greater quantity of its goods." For example, those who do nothing and dress in buckskin, will, as soon as they are employed, find means to dress in French goods. Now a more convenient spot for this object than Cape Breton, cannot be found. 1713–24.

Nor let it be said that if this island draws a part of its goods from Canada that France might furnish, it is so much lost to the trade of the kingdom; for in the first place, the reply made to the preceding objection, destroys this also: because the profit made by Canada out of this trade, will always return to the profit of the kingdom; for after all, New France cannot dispense with many articles from France. It will then draw a larger quantity and pay for them with the money which Cape Breton will give for its produce. In the second place, it would be no great evil to France, if it did not export so much wheat or other things for maintaining life, for the cheaper provisions are, the more workmen it will have for its manufactures.

"This island," continues the Memoir, "is so situated as to form a natural entrepôt between Old and New France. It can supply the former out of its own raising with cod-fish, oil, coal, plaster, timber &c. It will supply the latter with merchandise from the kingdom at much lower rates; it will draw from it part of its substance, and save it a good part of the freight; and then, too, the navigation from Quebec to Cape Breton would make very good sailors of men now useless, and a burden to the colony."

Another important advantage which this establishing of Cape Breton would render Canada, is, that small vessels could be sent out thence to the cod and other oil-supplying fishes, at the mouth of the river. These craft would be sure of a market for their cargo in the Island of Cape Breton, and of a new cargo of French goods; or a ship loaded with products of the country, might be sent from Quebec

1713–24. to Cape Breton, there to take in salt for the gulf fisheries. When it had taken in its load, it would return to Cape Breton, sell its fish, and with the profit of these two voyages, purchase French goods to dispose of in Canada.

It is here well to know that what then prevented the Canadians from embarking in the fisheries at the Gulf, and at the mouth of the St. Lawrence, was the necessity of carrying their fish to Quebec, where they could not get enough to pay freight and sailors' wages, on account of the length of the voyage; and even if they should be lucky enough to make a little profit, as had very rarely happened, this profit was not sufficient to encourage the colonists to continue such a trade.

The two colonies then mutually aiding each other, and their merchants growing rich by the constant trade carried on, they might associate for enterprises equally advantageous to both, and consequently to the kingdom, it only in opening the iron mines so abundant around Three Rivers; for then those of France and its woods might rest, or at least they would no longer be obliged to draw iron from Sweden and Biscay.

Moreover, ships sailing from France to Canada, always run greater risks on the home passage, unless they make the voyage in the spring; now the small vessels from Quebec would run none in going to Cape Breton, because they would take their time, and would always have experienced pilots. What indeed, would prevent their making two voyages a year, and in this way save the ships from France the trouble of ascending the Saint Lawrence, which would diminish the voyage one half?

Moreover, it is not only by increasing the consumption of goods in New France that the proposed establishment would benefit the kingdom, but also by the ease with which it could introduce its wines, brandies, linens, ribbons, taffetas &c., into the English colonies. This trade would become a great object, as the English would supply themselves at Cape Breton and Canada with all these goods, not only for the American continent, where their colonies

are extraordinarily populous, but also in the English and Dutch Islands, with which they trade. Thus they would draw much money from all the colonies, even if the introduction of our goods were not openly permitted. 1713–24.

Finally, nothing is better calculated than this establishment to induce the French merchants to embark in the cod fishery; because, as the island of Cape Breton would furnish Canada with goods, the vessels coming there to fish, would take a cargo, half in merchandise and half in salt, so that they would make a double profit, while now the ships which go from France to the cod fishery, carry salt only; moreover, the increase of the fishery might enable France to supply Spain and the Levant with that fish, which would draw much specie to the kingdom.

The whale fishery, which is very abundant in the Gulf, towards the coasts of Labrador, and in the St. Lawrence River, up as far as Tadoussac, might also be one of the most important advantages of this settlement. Ships engaged in this fishery, would lay in goods in France to be disposed of in Cape Breton, or left with the agents of the shippers. At the same place they would take in barrels, and proceed to carry on the fishery, which is easier in that place, being made in summer, and not in winter, as in the north of Europe, where the whalers must remain amid the ice, under which the whales are frequently lost when harpooned. Here the whalers would make a profit on the goods they carried to Cape Breton and on their fishing; and this double profit would be made in less time and with less risk, than that made in the north from whale-oil alone; and the money sent to the Dutch for this article, would remain in France.

It has been already remarked, that the island of Cape Breton can furnish of its own production, masts and timber for building in quantities; it can also readily draw timber from Canada; this would increase the reciprocal trade of these two colonies, and afford the kingdom great facilities in ship-building. This wood could be obtained from this island, instead of our being forced to buy it

1713–24. from foreigners. They might also trade with the Antilles in masts and pine boards, which would considerably diminish the price of those articles. What is there even to prevent the building of ships in Cape Breton, which could easily obtain from Canada all it needed for this branch? It would be much cheaper than in France, and it might even furnish ships to the foreign nations, from whom we now buy them.

Finally, there is no more convenient stopping place, or more secure retreat than the Island of Cape Breton for all ships coming from any point whatsoever in America, in case of pursuit or being surprised by bad weather, or running out of provisions, wood or water. Besides, it would be in time of war, a cruising station, to ravage the commerce of New England; and if the forces were sufficient, as they might easily be, they might then obtain entire control of the cod fishery by means of a small number of frigates, always on the alert to run out of the ports of the island, or slip back again.

Means of establishing this colony. Objections answered.

The two Intendants, after thus setting forth the advantages of this new settlement projected by them, set to work to facilitate its execution and meet the objections made. They remarked in the first place, that it was inexpedient to confide this enterprise to a Company, for the reason that the spirit of all such societies is to gain much in a short time, to abandon or neglect matters which do not yield great profits soon enough, to care little about giving their establishments a solid foundation, or pay any attention to the good of the inhabitants, to whom, they say, too great advantages cannot be offered if you wish to induce them to settle in a new colony. What induced them to speak thus of companies, was their experience of those which had hitherto had the domain or the exclusive commerce of New France and the French West Indies.

They nevertheless agreed that the settlement of Cape Breton would involve great expense; but they maintained, that, without its becoming a burthen to the King, and by means of certain advances, the refunding of which to his

Majesty's treasury could be easily secured, it would be easy, in three years' time, to render that island self-supporting, and make it in a few years an object of much importance. The advances which they asked and the means they had devised for reimbursement, were these: 1713–24.

1st, The King during peace does not require a great many of his vessels; they decay in the ports, and are kept up at sea: it is then a benefit to the service to give them occasion for a voyage. The King would lose nothing by chartering some of his storeships to convey things necessary for the settlement in question. The produce they would bring back after the first year, would at least pay the wages and maintenance of the crews; for by arranging in advance, they would find ready for them cargoes of coal, plaster, masts, yardarms, spars and other wood, which cost only the taking and dressing. The two ensuing years, they might add ship-timber, planks, oils, dried fish and other articles which the settlers would begin to give in payment for the advances received to enable them to settle, and which may be regarded as cash, since we have to buy them in foreign markets for specie. Moreover, the increase of the cod fishery would increase the King's duties on that article.

2d, Four complete companies will suffice for the first years, but special attention is necessary in selecting the soldiers; they must all know useful trades, such as those of masons, carpenters, blacksmiths, wood-cutters, especially farm hands; and in this view it is well to select young vigorous men, and good workers; this selection will not be a difficult one to make when the war is ended.

It would even be expedient to take the first companies from Canada, where men could be found already trained for a new colony, and able to instruct those who come from France. But above all, it seemed of indispensable necessity, that the Governor of the new colony should have power to grant a discharge and permission to marry, to all soldiers desiring it; they would also defend the country better as settlers than as soldiers; the companies would become

1713. a hive of settlers, and it would not be difficult to recruit them annually, so as to keep them always full.

3d, In regard to the transportation of settlers, the necessity of supplying the colony for the two first years with provisions, the munitions and merchandise to be sent there, the fortifications to be erected there, the money to be put in circulation at first, the annual charge, the domain and seignorial rights, grants made in favor of communities and individuals, import and export duties; all this was set forth in detail by the two magistrates, with admirable exactness, intelligence, order and precision, upheld by solid and thorough proofs, to prove evidently that the King risked nothing in making the advances for this setttlement; that these advances were not so great as might be imagined, and that they might be refunded in three years. The younger Mr. Raudot nevertheless, in 1708, deemed it more expedient not to proceed so fast, and to establish the new colony gradually; to begin by sending troops there, who might carry on the fishery, then hired men and sailors from France, a part of whom should become settlers.[1]

Why the project was not then carried out.

Apparently the war, which continued some years longer and engaged all the forces of the kingdom and all the attention of the ministry, prevented the King's council from then adopting so fine a project, so well digested, and apparently advantageous alike to France and New France. The fact is, that after ceding Placentia and Acadia to the English Crown, the French had no longer any place to dry their codfish, and even fish in peace, except at Cape Breton; hence the necessity of a solid colony and fortifications there.

Description of Havre a l'Anglois, afterward called Louysbourg.

They began by changing its name and styling it Isle Royale. They then deliberated on the selection of the port to be made the head quarters; and they were long undecided between Havre à l'Anglois and Port St. Anne. The former, as already remarked, is one of the finest har-

[1] Memoires, Canada Doc., III. v., pp. 1197–1255; Jefferys, pp. 121 &c.

bors in all America; it is nearly four leagues in circuit, and you can anchor anywhere in six or seven fathoms of water; the anchorage is good, and ships can be beached without risk. Its entrance is only two hundred fathoms wide, between two small islands, which can easily defend it. The cod fishery is very abundant, and can be conducted from the month of August to the end of December; but it was objected that the soil all around is barren, and that it would cost immense sums to fortify it, as it would be necessary to transport all the materials from quite a distance. Moreover, it had been remarked, so they said, that there was not grève (beach) enough in the harbor for more than forty fishing vessels. 1713.

Description of Port St Anne, otherwise Port Dauphin.

Port St. Anne, as already stated, has before it a very sure roadstead between the Cibou Islands; the port is almost completely closed by a tongue of land, leaving passage for only a single ship. This port, thus closed, is nearly two leagues in circuit, and is oval in form: ships can everywhere approach the land, and scarcely perceive the winds, on account of its high banks and the surrounding mountains. Those who declared in its favor, added that it could be rendered impregnable at little expense, and that two thousand francs would go further there than two hundred thousand at English Harbor, for the reason, that all needed to build and fortify a large city could be found on the spot.

It is moreover certain that the grève there is as extensive as that of Placentia; the fishery very abundant, great quantities of good wood found there, such as maple, beech, wild cherry, and especially oaks very suitable for building and masts, being twenty-eight to thirty-eight feet high: marble is common, most of the land good; in Great and Little Labrador, which are only a league and a half off, the soil is very fertile, and it can contain a very large number of settlers. Finally, this port is only four leagues distant from Spaniards' Bay, another very good harbor, with excellent soil, covered with wood suitable for building and masts. It is true that the prevalent westerly

1713-24. winds prevent fishing from sloops, but it can be done with boats, as at Boston.[1]

The only objection to Port St. Anne, universally admitted to be one of the finest in the New World, is its difficulty of access. This inconvenience alone, after much irresolution, and even many alternate attempts to settle either this port under the name of Port Dauphin, or Havre à l'Anglois under that of Louysbourg, and the easy entrance to the latter, won it the preference, and nothing was spared to render it commodious and impregnable. The city is built on a tongue of land which forms the entrance to the harbor.[2] De Costebelle, who had just lost his governorship of Placentia, was appointed to the new colony, and his lieutenant, Mr. de St. Ovide, has succeeded him.[3]

It was at first intended to transfer to Isle Royale all the French settled in Acadia; all the Indians comprised by us under the name of Abénaquis, had even been invited thither, and some of them had, in fact, formed a town; but the French, finding nothing there to compensate them for their property in Acadia, and the English governors, whose ill-treatment[4] had made them long to emigrate, as proposed, having changed their policy, for fear of

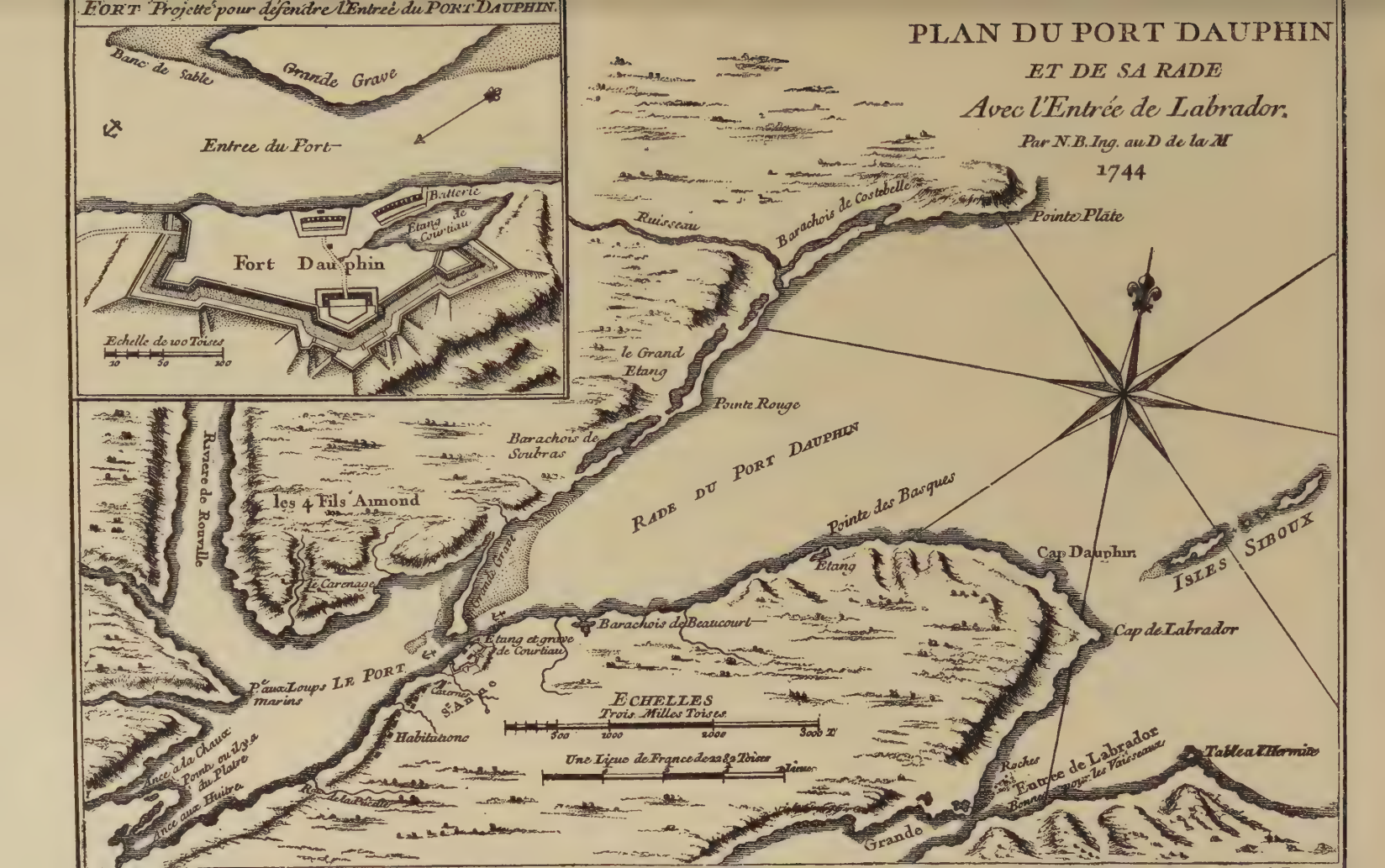
[1] Jefferys, p. 122.

[2] The Seignelay, M. de Contreville, arrived at Louisburg, Aug. 13, 1713, and took possession. Pichon, p. 4. Costebelle to the minister, Nov. 30, 1713. Canada Doc., III. v., 1171. Recensement des habitans de Plaisance, et iles St. Pierre, rendus à Louisbourg avec leur femmes et enfans. Ib. 1178. The religious concerns were confided to the Recollects, the hospital to the Brothers of Charity, and the schools to the Sisters of the Congregation. Faillon, Vie de M. Bourgeoys, ii., pp. 306–312.

[3] Denis de la Ronde to the minister. Canada Doc., III. v., p. 1245; Raudot to same, Ib. pp. 1251, 1255; de Rouville to same, p. 1269.

In 1713 Costebelle wrote to Gaulin and F. Felix to press Acadians and Indians to remove. See F. Felix Palm's reply, Sept. 23, 1713. Canada Doc., III. v., p. 1139; Murdoch, Hist. Nova Scotia, i., p. 336 n. Catholic World, XII. p. 827: stating their reasons against it.

[4] In 1714 L'Hermite and St. Ovide were sent to obtain leave for the Acadians to retire with their cattle and corn to Cape Breton Nicholson refused, referring them to the Queen. The Court of France then applied to that of England. Pontchartrain to d'Iberville, Nov. 7, 1714. Towshend to Board of Trade, Nov. 15. Nova Scotia Doc., pp. 4–5. The English thus induced them to remain, unwilling to lose all the colonists. But in 1717, L't-Gov. Doucette demanded an absolute oath of allegiance. The Acadians de-


FORT Projetté pour défendre l'Entrée du PORT DAUPHIN
Banc de Sable
Grande Grave
Entrée du Port
Batterie
Etang de Courtiau
Fort Dauphin
Echelle de 100 Toises
0 50 100
PLAN DU PORT DAUPHIN
ET DE SA RADE
Avec l'Entrée de Labrador.
Par N.B. Ing. au D de la M
1744
Ruisseau
Barachois de Costebelle
Pointe Plate
le Grand Etang
Pointe Rouge
Barachois de Soubras
RADE DU PORT DAUPHIN
Pointe des Basques
Cap Dauphin
Etang
ISLES SIBOUX
Rivière de Rounille
les 4 Fils Aimond
le Carenage
Barachois de Beaucourt
Cap de Labrador
Etang et grève de Courtiau
P.te aux Loups marins
LE PORT
Habitations
ECHELLES
Trois Milles Toises
500 1000 2000 3000 T.
Une Lieue de France de 2½ Toises
Anse à la Chaux
Pointe ou Isle du Plastre
Anse aux Huitres
Entrée de Labrador
Roches
Tableau Hermite
Grande

losing colonists whose merit they saw, at last resolved to remain in their settlements.[1] 1713–24.

Yet they well-nigh changed their resolution in 1720. Sir Philip Richard[2] having been appointed Captain-General and Governor of Newfoundland and Acadia, was greatly amazed to find the French living in this latter province as subjects of the Most Christian King, and that the authorities had been satisfied with their remaining tranquil, doing nothing contrary to the service of the British Crown; enjoying the same prerogatives that they had enjoyed under the sway of their natural sovereign, having Catholic priests and the free exercise of their religion, and maintaining a kind of intercourse with Isle Royale.

He was told that the government had deemed it expedient to grant them all this, to prevent their retiring either to Canada or to Isle Royale, as they were at liberty to do by virtue of the treaty of Utrecht, or even to carry off their personal property and sell their real estate; and that they thus avoided the cost of transporting a new population, whom it would be necessary to send to replace them; moreover, it would have been difficult to find settlers as laborious and industrious as these; that besides, they had

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clined, unless guaranteed against Indian attacks. Declaration sent to French Acadians and answer. N. S. Doc., pp. 14–5.

[1] In spite of the capitulation they were deprived of their clergy. Rev. Justinian Durand was sent to Boston in 1711, and there kept in prison for two years; F. Felix was banished in 1724, and Rev. Mr. Charlemagne imprisoned and banished in 1724–5; Rev. Mr. Gaulin imprisoned in 1726. See Early Missions in Acadia, Catholic World, XII. pp. 829–835.

[2] Colonel Richard Phillipps, grandson of Sir John, born in 1661; joined William III. and made captain; Governor of Nova Scotia, Aug. 1, 1717; also of Placentia. He returned to England in 1731, and died in 1751, still Governor, the colony being administered by a Lieutenant-Governor, Phillipps, a grasping, avaricious man, retaining the salary. Akins, Nova Scotia Doc., pp. 17–19. Haliburton, i., p. 93. As to the oath, see his proclamation, April 12, 1720. Canada Doc., III. vii., p. 661. Demand on people of Menis, Chignecto, Annapolis River, April 28. Ib. p. 675; N. Scotia Doc., pp. 21–23. Letter of Acadians to St. Ovide, that Phillipps would allow them to take only two sheep per family. Canada Doc., 678; N. S. Doc., p. 26; Letter of the inhabitants of Mines, p. 680. Letter to Archbishop of Cambray, p. 686. See also, N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., pp. 931–3.

1713. not abused their privileges, and that it was even on their account that the Indian allies of France had for some time left the English in peace.

The Captain-General either did not like these reasons, or, convinced that time must have changed the nature of things, thought that he might, without risk, put the French on the same footing as the English. He began by forbidding all intercourse with Isle Royale, and next informed them that he gave them only four months to decide on taking the oath of allegiance, which all subjects owe their sovereign.

De Saint Ovide, who was soon informed of this, notified the settlers, that as soon as they complied with what was exacted, they would find themselves in a very different position from that in which they had hitherto been; that they would soon be deprived of liberty of practising their religion publicly; that they would be deprived of their priests, and if, destitute of all spiritual succor, they were so happy as to adhere to the faith of their fathers, they could not reckon that their children would long resist the seduction and threats that would be employed to force them to change their belief. In a word, that they would not be slow to see themselves the slaves of the English, who would treat them with that harshness that they must expect from their natural antipathy to the French, and which the French refugees, although united to them by the bonds of a common religion, daily experienced.[1]

They stand firm and are left in peace.

This advice was not needed by those to whom the Governor of Isle Royale gave it. They had promptly answered the Governor-General as they should,[2] and had even

[1] See Phillipps to St. Ovide, May 14, 1720, Aug. 10. N. S. Doc., pp. 26, 38. For Mascarene's view of the matter, see pp. 41–2.

[2] See Letter of the Inhabitants of Les Mines to the Governor, Canada Doc., V. vii., p. 680. Nova Scotia Doc., p. 28. They justified their delay by their inability to sell, as no English settlers came within the year. Haliburton (i., p. 94 n.) mentions that the priest who waited on the Governor to remonstrate on the subject of the oath, was escorted by 150 young men, a retinue more numerous than the Governor's garrison. These Acadians were refused admittance on English ships, and French ships were not allowed to enter the Acadian ports to receive them.

let him understand indirectly, that if he undertook to drive them to extremes, he would have the Indians on his hands, who would never allow them to be forced to take an oath of allegiance or deprived of their pastors. This reply had its effect; Richard deemed it unwise to rouse the Indians in his vicinity,[1] at a time when those on the Kennebec were quite ill-disposed to the New Englanders, (Bostonnois,) nor expose himself to see Acadia depopulated; for Saint Ovide had already taken steps to facilitate the retreat of the French to Isle St. Jean, where they then talked of making a large settlement. 1713.

Settlement of Isle St. Jean, (Prince Edward's Island).

Next to Isle Royale, that of Saint Jean, which is quite near it, is the largest of all that lie in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and it surpasses the former in one point, all the soil being fertile. It is twenty-two leagues long, and about fifty in circuit; it has a secure and commodious harbor, and was then covered with wood of all the best kinds. Up to the time when settlements were begun on Isle Royale, no attention was paid to Isle Saint Jean; then, however, from their proximity, it was judged that they might be of great service to each other.

A company was accordingly formed in 1719, to settle Saint Jean, employing funds more easily found at that time, than maintained at the arbitrary value assigned to them. The Count de Saint Pierre, first Equerry to the Duchess of Orleans, was at the head of the project, and the King, by his Letters Patent, granted in the month of August in that year, granted it the islands of Saint Jean and Miscou in "franc Aleu Noble,[2] without justice, which

[1] He was so alarmed that he sent to England for at least 600 additional troops. N. S. Doc., p. 56. Subsequently Father Gaulin submitted, and 880 Acadians took a verbally modified oath, understanding that they were not required to bear arms against France, and were to enjoy their religion and retain their clergy. Haliburton, i., p. 94. Unfortunately these poor, simple Acadians remained under these verbal promises never meant to be kept, and lived in constant trouble till they were torn away from their homes and deprived of everything, without trial or any legal proceedings, by an act whose enormity will ever live in history.

[2] Franc Aleu is a freehold under which lands are exempt from all rights or duties to seigneurs, ac-

1713. his majesty reserved on condition of paying homage and fealty at the Castle of Louysbourg, from which he will relieve without fine :"[1] and this for the purpose of establishing a sedentary cod fishery.[2]

Why it did not succeed.

In January of the ensuing year, the Count de Saint Pierre obtained new patents, granting, on the same tenure and conditions, the Magdalen Islands, Botou or Ramées, the islands and islets adjacent, as well for the cultivation of the soil and getting out of lumber as for cod, seal and walrus fishery : and he would apparently have carried out his project had all his associates resembled him. But he experienced the disgust inseparable from societies where all the members are not born with noble thoughts, and are held together by no tie but interest.

This project experienced what always happens in such cases, when all interested seek to have an equal share in the direction, when the first advances are not made with a perfect knowledge of the nature and advantages of the place, and the obstacles to be met there; and when men are not at liberty to select persons fitted to carry out the designs which had been formed. From neglecting to adopt all these measures, the first attempts failed, but as they despaired of adopting any better, the enterprise was abandoned.

The Iroquois renew their alliance with us.

1714.

However all the operations undertaken after the conclusion of peace in regard to Isle Royale, gave little concern to the Marquis de Vaudreuil, the royal orders being generally addressed to de Costebelle and de Saint Ovide. But that general was no sooner relieved from anxiety in regard to the English, and assured of the pacific disposition of the Iroquois, who had come in 1714 to renew their alliance with him, and even offered their mediation in case of a new rupture with the English, than, in concert with

knowledging no lord but the king. Bouchette, Topographical Description of Lower Canada, p. 12.

[1] Pichon, Lettres, pp. 54–80.

[2] St. Jean, with the neighboring islands of Ramée, was known in Cartier's time. Champlain describes it. Voyages, i., p. 126, (Ed'n 1830.) It was granted in 1663 to Sieur Doublet, but depended on Miscou and the Fishing Company set up there.

Begon, Raudot's successor, he took up seriously the matter of fortifying and peopling the colony, where to his grief he beheld the number of inhabitants diminish, apparently, rather than increase. 1714.

Condition of New France.

"Canada," says he in a letter addressed this same year to the Count de Pontchartrain, "has only four thousand four hundred and forty-four inhabitants able to bear arms,[1] from the age of fourteen to sixty, and the twenty-eight companies (of Troops of the Marine Service maintained there by the King,) make in all only six hundred and twenty-eight soldiers. This small force is scattered over an extent of a hundred leagues. The English Colonies have sixty thousand men able to bear arms, and there is no doubt but that on the first rupture they will make a great effort to reduce Canada, if you reflect, that in the twenty-second article of the instructions given by the city of London to its members in the next parliament, they are required to demand from the ministers of the preceding administration, why Canada and the Island of Cape Breton were left in the hands of France."

As for the means of filling up the companies of the King's troops, de Vaudreuil thought there could be little difficulty after the great reform just accomplished in France. In regard to the increase of population, he felt that the following objections might be made: first, the scarcity of men in most of the provinces of the kingdom: second, the exhausted state of the finances, which forbade making any considerable advances to transport new settlers to America, and maintain them there till they could by their labor procure the necessaries of life. He met this difficulty by suggesting an expedient which seemed easy to him, notwithstanding these two obstacles. He proceeds in the letter just cited as follows:

"Every year there is a considerable number of salt-smugglers condemned to the galleys, for whom the King

[1] The total French population was 18440; 2786 married men, 2588 married women; 6716 single males; 6350 single females. Archives de l'Archevêché de Quebec, cited in Ferland, ii., p. 390 n.

1714. has little need and who become unavailable for cultivating the soil; their expenses are paid by the farmers-general, and the King might grant the colony of Canada a hundred and fifty every year, the farmers-general to take them to Rochelle, and on paying a hundred and fifty livres for each, to be released entirely in regard to them. There is not one but costs them a hundred francs a year, and every one is detained at least eighteen months, and some for ten years or more. Beyond this, all that the farmers-general can ask, is that they shall not return to France, and I will answer for that.

"If the King grants this favor, all the ships coming to Canada can be obliged to transport these hundred and fifty men, and give fifty livres for each on their arrival. In the colony they can be distributed among the settlers, to work as servants, and this for three years, after which they are to be free, but not to be at liberty to return to France; and, to enable them to be in a condition to do something for themselves, the hundred livres remaining out of the hundred and fifty paid by the farmers-general, may be put in the hands of the master, who will be required at the expiration of the three years' service, to give each man fifty crowns. The settlers would be very glad to have men on these terms; and this would insensibly give an increase of men inured to labor." [1]

Ineffectual efforts of the English to win over the Abenaquis.

At the close of this letter, the Governor-General added that the English at Boston were neglecting no means to win the Abénaqui nations to their interests, by making them many presents, by offering them goods at a low rate, and ministers for prayer: that the Baron de Saint Castin and the missionaries were doing wonders to divert them; but that Father de la Chasse reminded him that grace often needs the co-operation of man, and that temporal interest sometimes serves as a vehicle for faith; that it was more than ever necessary for his majesty, by some new benefit, to facilitate means for retaining in our

[1] See a Memoir like this dated Orleans in N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., pp 1716, and addressed to the Duke of 868–872.

alliance, and to maintain in the true faith, a nation which alone in the last two wars had given us the upper hand over the English colonies.[1] 1714.

There is every reason to suppose that de Vaudreuil obtained what he asked, as the Abénaquis have remained strongly attached to us, and have defended their territory against the attempts of the English in the manner that we have seen, and that it was found necessary to employ the authority, or at least the influence of their missionaries to induce them to arrest their incursions into Acadia and the jurisdiction of Boston.

As for the Island of Newfoundland, the English gained much more by the cession of all we possessed there than we lost; for Isle Royale compensated in part for Placentia, all the inhabitants of which were transferred to Louysbourg, and there soon found themselves more at ease than they had ever been in Newfoundland; while the English beheld themselves absolute masters of an island, where they could feel sure of nothing as long as they had us as neighbors.[2]

Condition of Hudson Bay at the Peace.

They were no less delighted at excluding us from the whole of Hudson Bay. During the last five or six years that Sieur Jérémie commanded at Fort Bourbon, he had received no assistance from the Northern Company; and he had only sixteen men left to guard that fort, and another two leagues further north, and erected to

[1] Charlevoix's arrangement here is singularly confusing. He has already treated of Abénaqui matters down to 1725, and now recurs to 1714. Apparently the history was completed before Rale's death, and that matter subsequently introduced.

[2] This memoir does not appear among the recent collections, although several others on the same topic do. This same year, 1714, the Marquis de Vaudreuil visited France, where his wife had been for some years. Paper Money, instituted in 1688, at this time began to be decried, and in 1718 it ceased to be valid in payment. Then 1,293,750 livres of the paper money were burned. Juchereau, Histoire de l'Hotel Dieu, pp. 523–7. Oct. 3, 1714, died M'lle le Ber, the Recluse, ante IV., p. 207. Juchereau, p. 535; Vie de M'lle le Ber, par Mr. Faillon; Vie de Marguerite Bourgeoys, ii., p. 293. 1714, Ap'l 12, Esther Wheelwright, a New England captive, becomes an Ursuline nun at Quebec. Ursulines de Quebec, ii., p. 75; Adelaide Silver was already from 1710 a nun in the Hotel Dieu, Montreal. Vie de M'lle Mance, ii., p. 165.

1714. contain the storehouses and afford a refuge in case of reverse. Hitherto the French had nothing to fear from the Indians, who on all occasions evinced a strong attachment to their interest. But when no care has been taken to unite these Indians to us by the bond of religion, the allurement of an actual gain, together with hope of impunity, is a great temptation for them.

At last, provisions failing entirely at Fort Bourbon, and Jérémie[1] not wishing to touch the powder placed in reserve at the small fort just mentioned, sent his lieutenant, his two clerks and five more of his best men to hunt the caribou, which pass through those parts in great numbers in the months of July and August. These hunters encamped near a troop of Indians, who, for want of powder, had been unable to lay in their store of meat, and were reduced to the greatest misery, the Indians having almost entirely lost the use of their arrows since the coming of Europeans to their country.[2]

They felt it still more when they saw the French hunting successfully and enjoying abundance without sharing it with them; they accordingly resolved to massacre them to obtain their spoils. They began by inviting the two who seemed bravest to a feast, which they wished, they said, to give at night in their cabins. The Frenchmen went and were easily made way with. The Indians then ran to the other six, who were quietly sleeping in their tents, and massacred them also. One only escaped: being merely wounded, he counterfeited death, and after the Indians had stripped them all and retreated with their plunder, he with great difficulty dragged himself to the skirt of the woods. There he staunched his wounds as well as he could with leaves of trees, and started for Fort Bourbon, travelling through thorns and brambles that tore his whole body, for they had not even left him his shirt.

In this state he travelled ten leagues and reached the

[1] He was sent out in 1703 to succeed Delisle, brother of de St. Michel, Port Captain at Rochefort. Delisle died there the winter after his arrival. Jérémie, Relation de la Baye de Hudson. (Voyages au Nord, iii., p. 333.)

[2] Ib. p. 350.

fort at nine o'clock at night. He bore the first tidings of the massacre of his companions, and this convinced the Sieur Jérémie that it was impossible to guard two posts with his nine remaining men. He accordingly resolved to occupy Fort Bourbon. The Indians did not even allow him time to transfer his powder to it from the other fort; they seized it[1] without resistance, and thus reduced the French to the last extremity. Under these circumstances, when the commandant in the ensuing year received orders to deliver Fort Bourbon to the English, he had no great reason to regret a post where he was so ill at ease.[2] 1714.

New France might console itself for these losses by the calm its inhabitants enjoyed. However, the Outagamis, (Foxes,) incensed rather than weakened by the severe loss sustained at Detroit in 1712, infested with their robberies and filled with murders not only the neighborhood of the Bay, their natural territory, but almost all the routes communicating with the remote colonial posts, as well as those leading from Canada to Louysiana. Except the Sioux, who often joined them, and the Iroquois, with whom they had formed an alliance, but who did not seem to help them, at least openly, all the nations in commerce with us suffered greatly from these hostilities, and there was reason to fear that unless a remedy was promptly applied, most of them would make terms with these Indians to our detriment. Fruitless expedition against the Foxes.

This induced the Marquis de Vaudreuil to propose to them to join him in exterminating the common enemy. All consented, and the General raised a party of Frenchmen, assigning the command to de Louvigny, who was then King's Lieutenant at Quebec.[3] Many Indians joined this

[1] Eleven hundred pounds. Jérémie.

[2] Jérémie, Relation de la Baye de Hudson. (Voyages au Nord, iii., pp. 334, 346–350.) This affair occurred in 1712; a ship arrived with supplies in 1713, and he surrendered the fort in 1714.

[3] De Louvigny started from Quebec March 14, 1716, and returned to that place Oct. 12, 1716. See his letter, Wisconsin Hist. Coll., v., p. 78–80. Canada Doc., III. vi., p. 261. Vaudreuil to the minister, Oct. 30, 1716. Ib. p. 265. Charlevoix's marginal date is therefore deceptive.

1714. commandant on the route, and he soon found himself at the head of eight hundred men, firmly resolved not to lay down their arms as long as an Outagami was left in Canada. All supposed that tribe on the brink of utter destruction. The tribe itself judged so when it saw the storm gathering against it, and they all thought only of selling their life as dearly as possible.

More than five hundred warriors and three thousand women had shut themselves up in a kind of fort,[1] surrounded by three rows of oak stockades, with a good ditch behind. Three hundred men were on the march to reinforce them, but they did not come. De Louvigny attacked them in form; he had two field-pieces and a mortar for grenades; he opened a trench thirty-five toises, (seventy yards) from the fort, and on the third day had got within twelve toises, although the besieged kept up a brisk fire. He then prepared mines to blow up their curtains; as soon as they perceived this, they asked to capitulate that evening and proposed conditions that were rejected. They soon after made others, which the commandant laid before his Indians. They were: 1, That the Foxes and their confederates would make peace with the French and their allies. 2, That they would surrender all the prisoners whom they had taken, and this they did in advance. 3, That they would replace the dead by slaves to be taken from remote tribes with whom they were at war. 4, That they would pay the expenses of the war out of the proceeds of their hunting.

De Louvigny has averred that his allies, to whom he distributed the few beaver-skins presented to him by the Foxes, approved his pardoning the besieged on these conditions;[2] but he deceived himself, if he really thought so. We are even assured that they did not conceal their dissatisfaction; but that he let them talk, and returned to Quebec, where it is certain that the welcome he received

[1] According to Smith, History of Wisconsin, i., p. 93, this fort was on the Butte des Morts, or Hill of the Dead, on Fox River.

[2] Letter, Oct. 14, 1716. Wisconsin Hist. Coll., v., p. 78–80.

from the Governor-General, and still more the recompense he received the year following from the court, showed that, as he himself declared, he had done nothing except by order. The sequel shows that this order had not been given with a full knowledge of the case. On granting peace to the Foxes, de Louvigny had received from them six hostages, all chiefs or sons of chiefs, as security for their promise to send deputies to Montreal, in order to ratify the treaty there with the Governor-General; and this treaty, which they handed to de Louvigny in writing, expressly included a cession of their country to the French. 1717.

Unfortunately the smallpox, which made terrible ravages in the colony the following winter, as well as among the neighboring tribes, carried off three of these hostages, who died at Montreal, and among them the famous war-chief Pemoussa, who had been spared at the Detroit massacre, and on whom de Vaudreuil mainly depended. The Governor-General's fear that this untoward event would break up the treaty, compelled him to go up to Montreal on the ice, and as soon as navigation was free, he sent off de Louvigny to Michilimackinac, with orders to enforce the conditions accepted by the Foxes, to bring the chiefs of that nation to Montreal, with the chiefs of all the other tribes, and at the same time to compel all the coureurs de bois to come down into the colony, the King having granted them an amnesty.[1]

[1] On the 11 Sept. 1715, Louis XIV. died, and was succeeded by his infant great-grandson, Louis XV., under the regency of the Duke of Orleans. The Count de Toulouse, Admiral of France, as head of the Navy Department, directed the affairs of the colonies. In 1715 Father Lafitau discovered ginseng, and published a memoir on it. In 1716 Vaudreuil returned to Canada. About this time Ramesay, Longueuil and thirty men, were killed by the Cherokees, near Cap St. Antoine, above mouth of Ohio. Charlevoix, Journal, p. 406. (Caokias, in N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., 875, is wrong.) With this year ends Mother Juchereau's Histoire de l'Hotel Dieu de Quebec, though not printed till 1751. 1716 to 1720, Chaussegros de Lery fortified Quebec. N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 872: Daniel, ii., pp. 68–76, 98; Smith, i., 184. In 1717 the Iroquois sent to Louis XV. a wampum belt, which was not well received. The Miamis, after Vincennes' death, resolved to go to St. Joseph's River. Vaudreuil to Minister, Letter, Oct. 28, 1719.

1717. Louvigny was unable to set out before the end of May, 1717. He took with him one of the hostages who had been attacked by smallpox like the rest, and had lost an eye by it, in order that he might assure his nation of the care bestowed on him and his colleagues. As soon as he arrived at Michilimackinac, he dispatched this man to the Foxes, with presents to cover the dead, and sent two French interpreters with him. The latter were very well received, the calumet was chanted to them, and after allowing some days for the relatives of the deceased to bewail their death, they assembled to hear the hostage. He spoke very well, and reproached the chiefs severely for not coming to Michilimackinac.

The nation then declared to the interpreters that they were by no means insensible to the kindness which Onon-thio continued to show them, but that several reasons prevented their deputies starting that year to meet him. They promised to keep their word the next year, gave their promise in writing, and added that they would never forget that they held their lives purely by the bounty of their Father. The hostage set out with the interpreters to rejoin de Louvigny at Michilimackinac, but after travelling twenty leagues, he left them, saying it was best for him to return home to oblige his tribe to keep its word.[1]

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[1] In 1719 St. Pierre and de Lintot induce the Foxes to come to terms. They surrendered many prisoners, but great caution was required.

In 1720, Captain Joncaire, by establishing his cabin at Niagara, restored the French post there. Charlevoix, Journal, p. 225. Vaudreuil and Begon, Oct. 26, 1720. N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 897: on which the English, in 1722, began a house, and in 1725 a fort at Chougouen or Oswego. Ib. p. 952: Smith's New York, p. 155. The French then erected a stone fort at Niagara. Ib. p. 168.

In 1720 the Sulpitian mission was removed from Sault au Recollet to its present position, The Lake of the Two Mountains. Faillon, Vie de Marg. Bourgeoys, ii., p. 264.

In 1721 the Fox war was renewed at Detroit. Charlevoix, Journal, pp. 228, 258.

In 1721, June 19, a great fire occurred at Montreal, in which 160 houses, nearly half the city, was destroyed. The Hotel Dieu was burned and not rebuilt for some years. Ib. p. 274. Vie de M'lle Mance, ii., pp. 173–5. See Arrets et Ordonnances, ii., p. 292.

In 1722, parishes were canonically established in Canada, which then had a population of about 25000. Ferland, Cours d'Histoire, ii., p. 415.

Nothing was heard of him after this: his nation never sent deputies to the Governor-General, and de Louvigny derived no benefit from his mission, except that he brought back to the colony almost all the deserters, and induced a very great number of Indians to bring their furs to Montreal, where so large a supply had not been seen for a long time. The Marquis de Vaudreuil long indulged hopes that the Foxes would send him deputies; but by renewing their incursions, they taught him that an enemy driven to a certain point, is always irreconcilable. They were afterwards defeated on various occasions: on their side, they forced the Illinois to abandon their river forever; and, although it is hardly conceivable that after their repeated defeats there are enough left to form a small town, men even now dare not proceed from Canada to Louysiana without taking great precautions against being surprized by them. They are indeed in alliance with the Sioux, the most numerous nation in Canada, and the Chicachas, the bravest Indians of Louysiana.[1] 1714.

Shipwreck of the Chameau.

With this exception, New France enjoyed all the fruits of peace, and was in the happiest position it had ever enjoyed, when a melancholy accident filled almost the whole colony with mourning, and in one day deprived it of more than it had lost in twenty years of war. On the night of the 25th of August, 1725, the King's ship, the Chameau, on its way to Quebec, was wrecked near Louysbourg, and not a single soul escaped.[2] Mr. de Chazel, who was to succeed Begon as Intendant of Canada,[3] de Louvigny, Governor elect of Three Rivers, the same frequently mentioned in this history, Captain de la Gesse,[4] son of Mr. de Ramezay, who had died in 1724, Governor of 1725.

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[1] As to the Indians west of Lake Erie, see memoir in N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., pp. 885–892.

[2] Pichon, p. 47; Charlevoix, iii., 57.

[3] Dupuy was then appointed Intendant, Nov. 23, 1725. See commission in Arrets et Ordonnances, iii., p. 65.

[4] He was 3d son of Chev. Claude de Ramesay, Seigneur de Sorel and Gov. of Montreal, and administrator of the whole colony during Vaudreuil's absence from 1714 to 1716. His eldest brother was killed at Rio Janeiro: the second by the Cherokees: one sister became an Hospital nun and one an Ursuline. Ursulines de Quebec, ii., pp. 101, 183, 223.

1725. Montreal, several other colonial officers, ecclesiastics, Recollects, Jesuits, perished there with all the crew, and the shore the next day was strewn with corpses and bales.

Death of the Marquis de Vaudreuil.

The death of the Marquis de Vaudreuil put the finishing stroke to these losses. This Governor died at Quebec on the 10th of October, 1725,[1] regretted in proportion to the eagerness shown to have him at the head of the colony, and after an administration of twenty-one years, the happy events of which were due in no small degree to his vigilance, firmness and good management, as well as the success that always attended his undertakings, and the fact that no miscarriages could be imputed to him.[2] The Chevalier de Beauharnois, captain in the navy,[3] succeeded him the next year; and the tranquillity enjoyed under his administration, induced him to undertake to penetrate to the South Sea, by one of his officers well attended.[4] The

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[1] The Marquis de Vaudreuil went to France in 1714 on the Heros. His wife, who sailed for France in 1709, was taken by an English ship, but was treated with respect, and landed at Havre de Grace. They returned in 1716, and she sailed back to France in one of the first ships, after her husband's death.

The Marquis de Vaudreuil was buried in the Cathedral, and the following inscription was placed on his coffin: "Cy gist le haut et puissant Seigneur Messire Philippe Rigaud, le Marquis Vaudreuil, Grand Croix de l'ordre militaire de St. Louis, Gouverneur et Lieutenant-Général de toute la Nouvelle France, décédé le dixieme Octobre, 1725." Smith, i., p. 190

[2] Charles le Moyne, Baron de Longueuil, (born Dec. 10, 1656; Captain since 1691; Governor of Three Rivers in 1720, and Governor of Montreal since 1724,) administered the colony after de Vaudreuil's death (see Daniel, i., p. 61,) and solicited his place, but the court was advised not to appoint a Canadian. He died June 7, 1729. Daniel, i., p. 57–63.

[3] Charles, Chevalier and subsequently Marquis de Beauharnois de la Boische, was commissioned ensign in the navy, Jan'y 1, 1692; lieutenant in 1696; captain of a frigate May 9, 1707; of a ship of the line April 23, 1708; Governor of Canada Jan'y 11, 1726; (commission in the Arrets et Ordonnances, iii., p. 67.) Commodore, May 1, 1741; lieutenant-general of the naval forces, Jan'y 1, 1748. As a naval officer he showed great ability. He died July 13, 1749, leaving no issue by his wife, Renée Pays. Napoleon III., through his mother, Hortense Beauharnois, is descended from Claude de Beauharnois, brother of Charles. Ferland, ii., p. 430. Daniel, ii., p. 348. Begon the Intendant, married a sister of Beauharnois. Ib. p. 394.

[4] This alludes to the explorations of Pierre Gaultier de Varennes, Sieur de la Vérendrye, son of René Gauthier, Sieur de Varennes. After serving in New England and Newfoundland, he went to Europe and was severely wounded at Malpla-

future will show the success of this expedition and how useful it may be; this will depend on the facility of communication with Canada or Louysiana. 1725.

To complete the history of the enterprizes of our nation in North America, I have but to narrate what occurred in Louysiana after the peace of Utrecht. That colony having been till then a dependence and even a considerable part of New France, belongs necessarily to my history.

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quet. Returning to Canada, he devoted himself from 1731 to his death, Dec. 6, 1749, in attempts to reach the Pacific through the territory north of Lake Superior. In June, 1736, his son and the Jesuit Father Pierre Aulneau, were killed on an island in the Lake of the Woods by hostile Indians; but in his expedition in 1737 he established Fort la Reine on the Assiniboin, and three others further west, but he never crossed the Rocky Mountains. O'Callaghan in N. Y. Col. Doc., ix., p. 1060; Garneau, Histoire du Canada, ii., p. 126 &c. Kalm's Voyages, iii., p. 123; Carver, p. 109. Daniel, ii., p. 38.

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